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## NOTES FROM THE ORIENTAL SEMINARY.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.

### A New Hebrew Particle. By PAUL HAUPT.

[Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, April 22, 1892.\*]

In some passages of the Old Testament we find the prefixed ל used in a peculiar meaning: *e. g.* in the well-known saying from the ninth chapter of Ecclesiastes: *For him who is (still) associated with all the living, there is some prospect, for "a living dog is better than a dead lion."* As I have indicated in the specimen of my reconstruction of Ecclesiastes, printed in No. 89 of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (June, 1891),† I regard this passage as an interpolation, a subsequent addition to 9, 4. *A living dog is better than a dead lion*, which seems to be a proverbial quotation, is expressed in the original by: לכלב חי הוא טוב מן האריה המת. The ל here is authenticated by Symmachos' rendering: κυνὶ ζῶντι βέλτιον ἔστιν ἢ λέοντι τεθνηκόσι. But if ל were used here in its usual signification, as the exponent of the dative, we should expect in Hebrew: לכלב חי טוב לו מן האריה המת. The commentators state correctly that the prefixed ל is used here for the sake of emphasis (Ewald, § 310<sup>b</sup>), but the ל is generally explained as the preposition ל with the meaning *as to*: *as to a living dog it is better than a dead lion*.

It seems to me that we have in this ל a special emphatic particle, the equivalent of the well-known Arabic *la-* "verily;" for example: *la'lhâquq* "verily, it is the truth," or *la- râjulu qâ'imu* "verily there stands a man" (Caspari, § 492, 2; cf. *ibid.*, §§ 495 below; 490: *inn' Allâhu lâ- huwa el-'azizu* "behold God, verily he is the mighty one;" cf. Caspari-Müller, § pp. 242; 339; 340, 2; 342 *bel.*; 394 (§ 552). This emphatic particle is also used before the so-called *modus energicus* of the imperfect, for example *la- tara-wânna* "verily, ye will surely see" (Caspari, p. 215, i) and before the particle of the future (*la- saufa*), cf. p. 202 below.

The emphatic ל verily appears in Assyrian in the form *lâ-*. For the length of the vowel in *lâ-* compared with the Arabic *la-*, we may point to the so-called *Kaph similitudinis* ק which appears in Arabic as *ka*, and in Assyrian as *kî*, that is the genitive or construct state of a noun *kû*, inflected like *pâ*, *pî*, *pâ*, "mouth" (KAT<sup>2</sup> 505). I stated in the glossary to my translation of the cuneiform account of the Deluge, published in the second edition of Schrader's work *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (Giessen, 1883, p. 507, s. v. לו) that the emphatic *lâ* "verily" was identical with the Arabic *la-*, while I compared the precativ particle *lâ-* with the Arabic *li-*, which appears

in Ethiopic as *la-*. Schrader seems to have misunderstood my remarks, as he writes, p. 562 below of his work, that it is hardly possible to compare the emphatic *lâ-* "verily" with the Arabic precativ particle *li-*. The statement is repeated on p. 242 of the second volume of the English edition of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (London, 1888). I never said anything of the kind.

Delitzsch discusses the emphatic *lâ* "verily" in § 78 of his *Assyrian Grammar* (p. 214 of the English edition). He thinks, and I agree with him, that the emphatic *lâ-* is identical with the cohortative *lâ*, for which he gives a number of examples in §§ 93 and 145. In his *Prolegomena*, p. 134, Delitzsch advances the theory that this particle *lâ-* (cf. Hebrew *lâ*, Arabic *lau*) is to be derived from the Assyrian verbal stem *le'u* "to wish." *Lâ* is also used with the meaning *or*, and Delitzsch thinks that both *lâ* "or" and *lâ* "utinan" come from the same stem, pointing to the Hebrew *u* or, from אוה. It seems to me that *lâ* "or" must be regarded as a compound of *û*, or *ô*, the Assyrian equivalent of Hebrew *u*, and the emphatic particle ל. This explanation is confirmed by the fact that we find in the meaning *sive-sive* both *lâ-lâ* and *lâ-û*. Delitzsch gives a number of illustrations, *l. c.* pp. 212-216 (cf. Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*, English edition, p. 230 below). I think, however, that in several passages, where Delitzsch assumes the particle *ô* "or" (Arabic *au*), we have simply the ordinary *u* "and" (Arabic *wa-*). Especially in the combination *u-lâ* I am inclined to regard the *u* as the equivalent of Hebrew *we-*.

It is interesting to note in this connection that we find the Hebrew equivalent of *lâ-lâ*, that is ל ל used in the same meaning, *e. g.* Josh. 17, 16: *all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron, both they who are of Beth-Shean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel*:—ורכב ברזל בכל הנעני הישב בארץ העמק כאשר בבית שאן ובנחלק ולאשר בעמק יזרעאל. Dillmann in his commentary on the Hexateuch thinks that ל is used here in the meaning of *or* *et*, so that it would have the same force as the ל in the preceding הנעני, but ל ל must here undoubtedly be taken in the same meaning as the Assyrian *lâ-lâ* "sive-sive," or "et-et." In the same way we find in Ezr. I, 11: כל כלים לזהב ולכסף *all the vessels, both silver and gold*. In Siegfried's and Stade's new Hebrew Dictionary, p. 305<sup>b</sup> below, we find the passage translated correctly: *alle Gefässe, sowohl die von Gold als die von Silber begriffen*, but the ל is explained as *quod attinet ad*, that is, as a variety of the preposition ל (the sign of the dative) used for emphasizing a single noun in the sentence (*zur Hervorhebung eines einzelnen Nomens im Satze*). But we must distinguish between the double ל ל as in לזהב ולכסף, which is the Assyrian *lâ-lâ* "sive-sive," and the emphatic ל verily, Arabic *la* which we found in the passage of Ecclesiastes: לכלב חי הוא טוב מן האריה המת.

The emphatic ל occurs in v. 5 of the first chapter of Ezra: לכל העיר האלהים לכלב חי הוא טוב מן האריה המת *verily every one whose spirit God had stirred up*; ל has here the force of *in fact*, or *in short*, German *kurz* (cf. Gen. 9, 10; 23, 10; Ex. 27, 3, 19;

\* Cf. *Am. Or. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1892, p. cexxx. I was not able to hand in abstracts of my papers read before the Am. Or. Soc. at its meeting in Washington, April, 1892, and as I shall hardly find the time in the near future to publish the four papers in full, owing to the pressure of other work, I have deemed it better to print the abstracts here. It gives me pleasure to state that Dr. I. M. Casanowicz is making an exhaustive study of the emphatic *Lamedh praefixum* in Hebrew, on the basis of my theory.

† Cf. my paper on *The Book of Ecclesiastes* in the *Philadelphia Oriental Studies* (Philadelphia, 1894).

Ez. 44, 9, &c.). Somewhat different is the use of לִבְיָה in 2 Chr. 7, 21: וְהָיָה וְהָיָה אִשָּׁר הָיָה עֵינָיו לִבְיָה עָבַר עֵינָיו \*וְיֵשֶׁם and *this house which was high, verily every one that passeth by it shall be appalled at it*, καὶ ὁ οἶκος οὗτος ὁ ὑψηλός, πᾶς ὁ διαπορευόμενος αὐτὸν ἐκστήσεται. Lag. ed. of Lucian's recension reads: καὶ ὁ οἶκος οὗτος ὅς ἦν ὑψηλός, ἐρημαθῆσεται: πᾶς ὁ παραπορευόμενος αὐτὸν ἐκστήσεται. In the parallel passage 1 K. 9, 8 the emphatic ἵ is omitted, and instead of הָיָה we read the imperfect יהיה (οὗτος ἔσται ὁ ὑψηλός). The correct text seems to be in both passages וְהָיָה הָיָה עֵינָיו לִבְיָה יהיה לִבְיָה (cf. Thenius' Commentary on Kings, 2d ed., Lpz., 1873, p. 143 below, and Keil's Commentary, second ed., Lpz., 1876, p. 111, n. 1; also Klostermann's *San. und Kün.* (Nördlingen, 1887), p. 326).

In 2 Chr. 28, 15: וְהָיָה וְהָיָה לְכָל כּוֹשֵׁל וְיָבִיאָם יְרֵחוֹ *they carried (them) on asses, every one that was feeble and brought them to Jericho*, I consider ἵ as the preposition which is used here as the exponent of the accusative.† The ἵ in לִבְיָה with which this ἵ is combined in the 11th edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (p. 414<sup>b</sup>, immediately before B) is of an entirely different nature.

There are two more passages in Chronicles which are generally cited for this emphatic use of the prefixed ἵ: 1 Chr. 3, 2 and 7, 1. In the first passage we read: וְהָיָה בְנֵי דָוִד הַכֹּהֵן אֲמָנָן שֵׁנִי רִמְיָאֵל הַשִּׁלְשִׁי אֲבִישִׁירֹם. The ἵ can hardly be the emphatic particle here: it is probably due to a mistake caused by the ἵ in the preceding name of the mother of the second son הַשִּׁלְשִׁי אֲבִישִׁירֹם, or the scribe may have intended to write: הַשִּׁלְשִׁי אֲבִישִׁירֹם: לִבְיָה. Even Keil, who is as a rule most conservative, regards the ἵ here as a clerical error. Nor does the ἵ seem to be correct in the second passage, 1 Chr. 7, 1: וְלִבְנֵי יִשְׁשָׁכָר הָרִאשׁוֹן וְשֵׁנִי וְשִׁבְרֹן אֲרַבְעָה. It is evidently a mistake, probably caused by the וְלִבְנֵי which we find at the beginning of vv. 42, 46 and 47 (cf. also vv. 48, 56, 62) of the preceding chapter. The *Codex Vaticanus* of the LXX reads καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς, while the *Codex Alexandrinus* gives καὶ οὗτοι υἱοὶ Ἰσασάχαρ. Lagarde, in his edition of Lucian's recension, has καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσασάχαρ.

Is. 32, 1 is generally cited for the emphatic ἵ: Behold a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment: לְמַלְכֵּי וְלִישָׁרִים לְשֹׁפֵט. Nägelsbach thinks, the prophet repeated the ἵ on purpose, Stade's and Siegfried's Lexicon, p. 306<sup>a</sup> above translates לְשֹׁפֵט: *quod ad principes attinet*; but Delitzsch, Cheyne, Dillmann, and Duhm, are probably right in explaining it simply as a clerical error.

ψ 16, 3: וְהָיָה אִשָּׁר הָיָה עֵינָיו לִבְיָה, is generally cited as an instance of this usage of ἵ at the beginning of a sentence. But the text seems to be corrupt, besides the ἵ may be explained here as the common exponent of the dative, depending on the preceding אֲמָנָן in v. 2. Balthgen in his commentary (Göttingen, 1892) p. 42, reads: וְהָיָה אִשָּׁר הָיָה עֵינָיו לִבְיָה.

A comprehensive study of the use of the ἵ prefixum in the Old Testament will no doubt reveal a considerable number of cases where the ἵ is not the preposition but the emphatic particle ἵ = Arabic *la-* and Assyr. *lū* 'verily' & while the repeated לִבְיָה corresponds to the Assyrian *lū-lū* 'sive-sive.'

## Batim lo benuyim. By PAUL HAUPT.

[Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, April 22, 1892.]

We read in the memoirs of Nehemiah, chap. 7, v. 5, immediately before the genealogical register of the families which availed themselves of the permission to return to Palestine (another edition of the document is found in Ezra 2): *the city was extensive and great, but the people were few therein, and the houses were not built*. וְהָיָה רַחֲבָה יְרֵחוֹ וְגֵדְרָהּ וְהָיָה מְעַט בְּרוּחָהּ וְאֵין בָּתִּים בְּנוּיִם.

Bertheau says in his commentary published in 1862: this can only mean that there was plenty of room for new houses; there must have been houses, of course, if the city was inhabited, and the houses are expressly referred to in the preceding v. 3, and more frequently in chap. 3. Chap. 7, v. 3, we read that there should be appointed night-watchmen of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, every one in his watch, and every one over against his house, i. e. every one in his turn and so far as feasible near his house. In chap. 3

we are told in half a dozen cases (vv. 16-23<sup>bis</sup>, 28, 2). 30) that those who took part in the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem worked over against, or near their houses (בְּנֵי בָתֵּם, or אֲנִי בָתֵּם, or, v. 30, נִשְׁכְּרוּ).

Bertheau's interpretation of the passage is reprinted without any changes in the second edition of his commentary prepared by Professor Ryssel, of Zurich, which was published in 1887. This fact, however, does not show that the passage did not stand in need of correction. In § 7 of the Introduction, e. g. Bertheau was so unfortunate as to write that Dillmann's edition of the Ethiopic version whose second part contained the books of Ezra and Esther, had to be used for the reconstruction of the Greek text, which has not been handed down very carefully. Now it is well known that Dillmann never published the Ethiopic version of Ezra and Esther; nevertheless Bertheau's remarkable statement of 1862 was reprinted in full by Ryssel in 1887,—an unpardonable negligence which elicited a severe rebuke from the late Prof. Paul de Lagarde in the third volume of his *Mittheilungen* (Göttingen, 1889), p. 288.

Keil in his Biblical commentary on what he calls the post-exilic historical books, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther (Leipzig, 1870) p. 549 gives in the main the same explanation as Bertheau. He says, the houses were not built does not mean that there were no houses at all, as the city had been inhabited for more than 90 years, but simply that there was plenty of room for more houses.

The explanation is hardly satisfactory. *Houses were not built* cannot mean *houses were not built in many places, or there was plenty of room for new houses.\**

Nor do the ancient versions help us out of the difficulty. The LXX has: καὶ ἡ πόλις πλατεῖα καὶ μεγάλη, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὀλίγος ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἦσαν οἰκίαι ἀκοδομημέναι. Lagarde's edition of Lucian's recension gives the same text, the only differences being that χερσί is added to πλατεῖα rendering רַחֲבָה (Gen. 34, 21; Jud. 18, 10), and that ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς is substituted for ἐν αὐτῇ in accordance with Hebrew בְּתוֹכָהּ.

The Vulgate reads: *civitas autem erat lata nimis et grandis, et populus parvus in medio ejus, et non erant domus aedificatae.*

The Peshita has: וּמִרְחֵבָהּ רַבָּה וּפְתִיחָהּ זָמָה וְעָזָר הָיָה בְנוֹה וְלֵית הָיָה בְתָא דְבָנִין. As Keil remarks, the city had been inhabited for more than 90 years, so there must have been houses. Moreover the prophet Haggai preached long before Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in the second year of Darius, in the sixth month, on the first day of the month (i. e. 520 B. C.), while Nehemiah went to Jerusalem in the 20th year of Artaxerxes I Longimanus, (i. e. 445) —Haggai says, chap. 1, vv. 2 and 4: *These people say, the time has not come yet that the Lord's house should be rebuilt, but is it time for yourselves, to dwell in paneled houses, while the house of the Lord lies waste?* Many of the poor people that had returned from Babylon had evidently established themselves in the deserted palaces of the noble families that had been carried to Babylonia at the capture of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar (597).

All these considerations show that אין בָתִּים בְנוּיִם *the houses were not built*, must have a different meaning here.

Now we know that *house* means also *family*, and that *to build* means *to beget children*. Gen. 16, 2, Sarai says to Abram: *the Lord has restrained me from bearing, go in unto my maid; it may be that I may be builded by her, that is obtain children by her* (אִרְי אֲבִנָה מִמֶּנָּה). Kautzsch and Socin, in the preface to the second edition of their translation of the book of Genesis (Freiburg i. B. 1891, p. xiv), consider it remarkable that J. B. B. Venuti, of Ossegg, in his German translation of the Pentateuch (Prague, 1820), rendered אֲבִנָה correctly by *I shall obtain children by her*. They seem to ignore the fact that the Authorized Version gave the correct translation long ago. Nor do they seem to have noticed that J. D. Michaelis in his *Deutsche Übersetzung des Alten Testaments mit Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte*, part 2 (Göttingen, 1775) gave the correct translation: *Nim meine Magd zur Beyschläferin, vielleicht erhalte ich durch sie Kinder*.

The LXX has here: ἵνα τεκνοποιήσῃς ἐξ αὐτῆς; Lucian's recension (ed. Lagarde): ἵνα τεκνοποιήσωμαι ἐξ αὐτῆς; the Vulgate: *si forte saltem ex illa suscipiam filios*; the Peshita, on the other hand, כִּבְרָה אֲבִיבָא מֶנָּה *perhaps I shall be comforted by her*.

The same use of the Niphal בְנוֹה *to be built*, is found Gen. 30, 3, where Rachel says to Jacob: "Go to my maid! Bilha, and she shall bear upon my knees, that I may be built by her, that is, have children by her."

\* Oettli, *Die geschichtlichen Hagiographen* (Nördlingen, 1889), p. 121, translates: *there were keine neugebauten Häuser*.

\* For יֵשֶׁם cf. Jer. 4, 9; Job 18, 20.

† Bertheau says here, p. 215 below, of his Commentary (2d ed., Leipzig, 1873): *Das ἵ vor לב führt nachdrücklich ein anderes Subject ein*.

‡ Bertheau (Commentary, 2d ed., p. 373) rightly calls לב: *ein durch ἵ kenntlich gemachter Accusativ*; cf. Keil's Comm., 328 below, also Bezold's *Achämeniden-Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1882), pp. xii. 49 (sub ana, No. 3), and Nöldeke's *Syr. Gr.*, § 287.

§ See e. g. note 3 of my paper on *The Book of Ecclesiastes* in the Philadelphia Oriental Studies (Philadelphia, 1894).

The expression to build a house in the meaning to establish a family is found e. g. Ruth 4, 11, where the people say: *The Lord make Ruth like Rachel and Leah, which two did build the house of Israel.* כָּרָה וְלָרָה אִשָּׁר כְּנֻ שְׂרָהֶם אֶת בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל, i. e. Rachel and Leah bore a numerous progeny to Israel; they were the ancestresses of the whole Israelitish nation.

Deut. 25, 9, we read: If a man refuses to marry his brother's widow she shall spit in his face in the presence of the elders and say: So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house; that is, *beget children to preserve the name of his brother:* כָּפָה יַעֲשֶׂה לְאִשְׁתִּי אִשָּׁר יֵאָבֵד בֵּיתוֹ בְּיָמָיו.

When Nathan prophesies to David (2 S. 7, 11; cf. ib. 27): *the Lord telleth thee that he will make thee a house*, it means not that he will build a palace for him, but that he will establish his dynasty, keep his family on the throne for ever.

The prophet Ahijah, the Shilonite, tells Jeroboam, 1 K 11, 38: *thus saith the Lord, if thou wilt keep my commandments I will be with thee and build thee a sure house, as I built for David, and will give Israel unto thee; that is, I will establish thy dynasty in the Northern Kingdom just as firmly as the throne of the house of David in Jerusalem.*

In Ex. 1, 21, we read: *the midwives feared God and he made them\* houses; that means, blessed them with a numerous progeny.*

In the same way we must interpret the well-known passage Ecclesiasticus 3, 11: *The blessing of the father establishes the houses of the children, but the curse of the mother rooteth out foundations,* εὐλογία πατρὸς στηρίζει οἴκους τέκνων, κατάρπα δὲ μητρὸς ἐκρίζει θεμέλια. Fecundity and numerous progeny was considered the greatest blessing (Ex. 23, 26; Deut. 7, 14), while sterility was looked upon as a great misfortune (Lev. 20, 20). The same idea prevails in the cuneiform inscriptions. Nebuchadnezzar prays: *šībātī lūksūd, lušbā littūtī*, "let me reach old age, let me be satisfied with progeny" † (KB. III, 2, 29, 8; 39, 50; 45, 44; 53, 55; 55, 20, 25; 59, 29; 61, 17; 63, 14; 65, 6; 69, No. 14, 7), or *rubbiši zeri-m šundili nannabi*, "spread my seed, multiply my progeny" (69, 11); cf. also Nergl. 75, 36; 79, 32, and Nabonidus (Peiser) 119, 44, &c., &c.

That the circumstances of the Jewish colony after the return from the Exile were indeed desperate, that especially the families were not very large, may be inferred from the prophecies of Zechariah. Zechariah says chap. 8, 4: *There will yet old men and old women sit in the streets of Jerusalem, and every man with his staff in his hand for very age, and the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof. If it be marvellous in the eyes of the remnant of the people in these days, should it also be marvellous in mine eyes, says the Lord.* The prophet could not have uttered such a prediction to inspire his people with confidence in the future, if the family life at that time had come up to the ideal of Jewish happiness. I believe, therefore, that אֵין בָּהֶם בָּנִים, Neh. 7, 4, *the houses were not built, means the families were not built up, the families were not large, there were neither venerable old people, nor many children ensuring the prosperity of the new colony.*

Children, says the author of psalm 127, which was written at the same period, ‡ *are the heritage of the Lord, and the fruit of the womb is his reward. As arrows in the hand of a warrior, so are the children of one's youth. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them. They will not be dispersed when they try to ward off the enemies at the gate.* || \*\*

\* It is not improbable that the words and he made them houses are taken from a different document. They seem to have referred originally not to the midwives but to the Israelites.

† Winckler translates in the first passage: *meine Grossthaten geniessen*, in the second: *Lebenskraft geniessen*; Bezold (75, 36): *möge ich eine Fülle von Nachkommenschaft erleben* (cf. Naben. Peis., 119, 44).

‡ As has been observed by Grätz, the psalm seems to be directed against Nehemiah, who must have been a eunuch (cf. Is. 56, 4), as he served wine in the presence of the queen (Neh. 2, 6). Nehemiah's energy in urging his co-religionists to restore the walls of Jerusalem must have been distasteful to a great many people who believed that the Lord would be unto Jerusalem a wall of fire round about, and that the city should be inhabited as an open country (פְּרוּרִית) without walls (Zech. 2, 5).

§ I believe that בָּרִישׁ in this verse as well as in similar passages is the equivalent of Arabic *bāṭha*, or *battha*, "to scatter."

|| I read יָבִירוּ, or יִבְרִי, (cf. יִבְרִי Jer. 9, 2, they bent, &c. Ges.<sup>25</sup> p. 147, Engl. ed. p. 137, § 53, 3, rem. 4.)

\*\* Gen. 22, 17; 24, 60; Is. 22, 7; 28, 6; 2 S. 11, 23; 1 Macc. 5, 22. Cf. the Assyrian proverb quoted in Note 23 of my paper on *The Book of Ecclesiastes* in the Philadelphia *Oriental Studies*: "the enemy will not be scattered in front of the gate of a city whose weapons are not strong." (Assyrian: *ālu ša kakkašu lā dannu, nakru ina pān abullūšu ul špallār.*

## The Hebrew Particle -nā. By PAUL HAUPF.

[Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, April 22, 1892.]

The Hebrew particle -nā is generally combined with the Ethiopic imperative *nā'd* which has about the same meaning as the Hebrew interjections *age*, *agite*, or the Assyrian equivalent of לֵכָה: *alkā-ma*. Stade considers נָא a pronominal stem (§ 177<sup>b</sup>) and explains the Ethiopic *nā'd* as a development of the particle (§ 380, 2). But if נָא had the force of an imperative we should expect to find it prefixed like לֵכָה and הֵכָה: it is, however, invariably affixed as an enclitic emphatic particle. We find it appended to the imperfect, to the jussive, to the so-called cohortative (St. § 480<sup>c</sup>, n. 2) e. g. נָא אֵלֵכָה *I will go*, also after the perfect with wāw consec., e. g. וַיֵּשֶׁב נָא Gen. 40, 14; after the imperative, נָא שִׁים *do put*, after the imperative *energicus*, e. g. הֵנֵה נָא. It is also combined with interjections (וֵאוּ נָא) with the negative וְלֹא, the conditional particle אִם (אִםכֵּן מַצֵּחִי הוּא כַעֲנִיךָ), the demonstrative הִנֵּה *behold*, and finally we find it also, in ψ 116, in connection with an adverbial accusative הַיָּמִים. All this shows clearly that נָא is not a precative particle, but an emphatic particle, identical with the ending of the *Energicus-anna* in Arabic, or the so-called *nun demonstrativum* in the Hebrew imperfect with suffixes. Stade says quite correctly in § 480, rem.<sup>2</sup> of his Grammar, that Arabic *aqīmanna* is the exact equivalent of Heb. אִקְיִמְנָא.

Now, what is the origin of this emphatic particle נָא? It is well known that we have an emphatic enclitic particle -ma in Assyrian which is used in exactly the same way as the Hebrew נָא. The same particle is used in Ethiopic, for instance: *kamāhā-ma*. There are also numerous cases in Arabic, but here the -ma has been explained heretofore as the *mā indefinitum*. I will mention but one case. We find in Arabic sometimes an enclitic -ma in connection with the *Energicus*, e. g. (Caspary, § 384, 3) *b'āinimmā araydnaka*.\* The Arabic grammarians explain the *mā* here as the *mā indefinitum*. It is, however, simply the emphatic -ma, and I believe that Dillmann is correct in explaining this -ma as a variety of the -ma *interrogativum*. The interrogative pronoun *was, what* is often used in German as a sort of emphatic particle, for example: *Ist das nicht ein hübsches Mädchen?* *was!*

The change from -ma to -na is not exceptional. We know that the -m of the Hebrew plural ending appears in the cognate languages as an -n, for instance נָבִים, Syr. and modern Arabic: *bēnīn*. In the same way we find in Aramaic אָן *if* instead of Hebrew אִם. Alongside of פְּרוּרִית *ransom* there occurs the form פְּרוּרִין. I believe, therefore, that the Hebrew particle נָא (which underlies the formation of the Arabic *Energicus* corresponding to the Hebrew imperfect forms with נ) *demonstrativum* is a modification of the Assyrian emphatic -ma which appears in Ethiopic in the same form, as well as in Arabic where it has generally been explained as the indefinite -mā. In Hebrew the original form with מ is still preserved in compounds like נָבִים, נָבִי, and in adverbial formations like הַיָּמִים, אֶתְּנֶנִּי. As I stated before, this emphatic -mā is nothing but a modification of the interrogative *mā* "what."

## On Denominal Verbs in Semitic. By PAUL HAUPF.

[Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, April 22, 1892.]

It is a well known fact that there are a great many verbs derived from nouns in Semitic. In fact the theory that the noun is more primitive than the verb is gaining ground more and more. † I will point out but one verbal stem which has never been looked upon as a denominal verb, but which nevertheless can be shown to be derived from a primitive noun. I am thinking of the verb פָּתַח *to open*, which appears in Assyrian as *petā*. פָּתַח must apparently be derived from a two-consonantal root פֿת, the *n* being a so-called radical determinative. The *n* in verbal stems is often due to a secondary development. I have shown for instance some years since ‡ that the stem of the well-known פָּתַח is identical with the Arabic verb *mediae geminutae*: *rāffa*, or the reduplicated form *rārafa*. We find in an Arabic version of the Pentateuch מִרְחַף על פני המים מִרְחַף rendered by *warāḥu 'llāhi turiffu 'alā wajhi 'l-mā'i*. Hence it is evident that the *n* in

\* Cf. *qallāmmā yaškūrūna*, &c., Kosegarten, § 1097; see also *op. cit.*, §§ 609. 1083. 1094. 1096, &c. &c., and my note on *Allāhumma* in my Prolegomena to a Comparative Assyrian Grammar (*Am. Or. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 1887), p. L.

† Cf., on the other hand, Barth, *Nominalbildung*, part 2 (Leipzig, 1891), p. 434.

‡ See my paper *Assyrian Phonology with special reference to Hebrew in Hebraica*, Vol. I, p. 178, n. 4.

כרחם is not a part of the root. As to the root פה in פה, I believe that it is derived from the Assyrian *pātu*, a feminine plural of the *nomen primitivum* *pā* 'mouth,' or 'opening,' just as פה to turn, is derived from *pānu*, 'face,' which is the masculine plural of *pā*, 'mouth.' The development of meanings is the same as in Arabic *wajh*, 'face,' whence we have *tawājjaha*, "to turn." *Pānu* appears in Hebrew as פָּנִים with a second plural ending just as we find *ānē* in Syriac instead of the plural ending *ān*, for instance: *bismā*, 'perfume,' pl. *bismē* or *bismāne* (Nöld, § 74) *bisrā* 'flesh,' pl. *bisrē* and *bisrāne*. I have explained this analogical formation in my paper on the *Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 5. The primitive form of *pānu*, 'face,' must have been *pāmi*, a form like *māmi* 'water,' or *šamānu* 'heaven,' or *axāmi* 'brothers' in the adverb *axāmiš* 'like brothers.' This *pāmi* explains the Arabic form *famū*, which must have been shortened from *fāmū*.\* Consequently Arabic *fā*, *fī*, *fā*, 'mouth,' is singular form, but *fāmū* is an old plural form. The two plural forms *pānu* and *pātu* are given in a bilingual vocabulary published in the second volume of Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, pl. 39, No. 1, l. 11. A Babylonian duplicate of the text is given on pl. 39 of the fifth volume. We read there in ll. 1-3, *pā* 'mouth,' followed by *pū* *pūt* and the synonymous expression *pū uššuru* (= *muššuru*)† which seems to mean 'open mouth' (properly loosened). In ll. 6 and 7 we have *pūt* *pī*, 'opening of the mouth,' for which *epēš* *pī* given in the following line is the more common expression. That *pātu*<sup>m</sup> and *pānu* are to be explained as plural forms of *pā*, 'mouth,' was recognized by Dr. Hincks as far back as 1866. He gives the correct explanation in his admirable *Specimen Chapters of an Assyrian Grammar*.

I have no doubt that a careful examination of the Semitic verbal stems will reveal a considerable number of cases in which not only a quadrilateral or triliteral stem, but a two-consonantal root can be shown to be a secondary denominative derivation from a *nomen primitivum*.

### Note on Psalm 110, 3. By PAUL HAUPT.

[Abstract of a paper read before the University Philological Association, April 20, 1894.]

According to the traditional interpretation Psalm 110 is supposed to be of Davidic origin. The Lord who is to be king and priest forever after the manner of Melchizedek is said to be the Messiah. This was undoubtedly the prevailing idea at the time of our Savior.‡ We must remember, however, that critical decisions upon the date and authorship of the psalms, did not fall within the range of Christ's teaching. Psalm 110 can hardly be explained as a Messianic prophecy.

Modern critics are inclined to place the psalm in the Maccabean period (B. C. 167-37), regarding the poem as a glorification of Simon, the Maccabee, or of his son, John Hyrcanus (135-105). This theory, however, is as untenable as the assumption of a Davidic authorship. It has been observed that the psalmist alludes to a ruler who is to be priest forever, while the Maccabees were priests who afterwards became rulers in consequence of their glorious victories.

It would seem best to refer the psalms (just as Psalm 132) to Zerubbabel, the native prince of Judea and governor of the country under the reign of Darius Hystaspis (B. C. 521-485), while Joshua held the office of high-priest. A considerable portion of the people looked upon Zerubbabel as the Messiah who was to restore the political independence of the church-nation, throwing off the yoke of the Persian dominion. His followers trusted that he would not only be their ruler and leader in battle, under the auspices of their national God, JHWH, but also high-priest. We read in the book of the contemporary prophet Zechariah (6, 9): *Take silver and gold and make crowns and set them upon the head of Joshua-ben-Josedech, the high-priest [and upon the head of Zerubbabel, the Prince of Judah]; and say* §

*unto\* them: Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Behold the man whose name is the Sprout, it shall sprout from under him (that is: blessings shall spring up in his steps and follow him), and he shall build the temple of the Lord. He shall bear the glory and sit and rule upon his throne, and Joshua shall be a priest upon his right hand and the counsel of peace shall be between them both.\** I have adopted the reconstruction of the text, suggested by Ewald as far back as 1828. In the received text the name of Zerubbabel is omitted entirely, the high-priest Joshua alone is mentioned: he is to rule upon his throne. Our psalm, on the other hand, is written by an enthusiastic follower of Zerubbabel, who would have omitted the name of Joshua, the high-priest. I would translate the psalm as follows: The oracle of JHWH to my lord (Zerubbabel): sit thou on my right hand (as my theocratic vice-roy) until I put thine enemies as a foot-stool for thy feet. JHWH will send forth the sceptre of thy majesty from Zion, and thou shalt rule in the midst of thine enemies. Thy people are all enthusiasm on the day of thy warfare, upon the sacred hills (about Jerusalem stands) the dew of thy youth loyally attached to thee and eager to follow thee (that is: thy martial young men will light upon the enemy as innumerable† as the drops of the dew that fall on the ground, cf. 2 S. 17, 12). JHWH has sworn, and he will not change his mind: Thou shalt be priest forever after the manner of Melchizedek.‡ (He will be priest and wait on the Lord, but he will not be inactive): on the day of his anger (when his wrath is kindled) my lord (Zerubbabel) upon thy right hand (JHWH) will shatter kings. He will punish the nations: (the land) will be full of corpses, he will shatter the head (Hos. 2, 2) over a vast land § (the great king of Persia. He will share all the hardships of the campaign with his warriors), he will drink of the brook by the way,|| therefore will he lift up his head (and prevail, conquering all his enemies).

V. 3 has never been understood heretofore. The Authorized Version renders: *The people shall be willing in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holiness from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth.* In the margin we read: *more than the womb of the morning thou shalt have the dew of thy youth.* Most of the modern exegetes translate: *As from the womb of the morning, thine is the dew of thy youth.* Cheyne, adopting Bickell's reading, renders the passage: *from the womb, from the very dawn of life, thy youth belong to thee, that is: thy youthful band is devoted unto thee.*

The LXX reads: *μετὰ σοῦ ἀρχῇ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυνάμεώς σου ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι ἁγίων ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξηγγνησά σε*, which is rendered in the Vulgate: *Tecum principium in die virtutis tue in splendoribus sanctorum ex utero ante luciferum genui te.* In the *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi* we read: *Populi tui spontanei erunt in die fortitudinis tue, in montibus sanctis quasi de vulva orietur tibi ros adolescentiae tuae.* In rendering in *montibus sanctis* St. Jerome follows Symmachus who reads instead of *ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι ἁγίων*: *ἐν ὄρεσιν ἁγίοις*. This reading is certainly preferable, so we must change the *ר* in קריש הררי into a *ר*, reading קריש הררי upon the holy mountains or sacred hills about Jerusalem. But the rendering of the following words is very unsatisfactory: *קִרְבִּי מִבֶּטֶן קִרְבִּי מִבֶּטֶן* from the womb of the dawn, or קִרְבִּי מִבֶּטֶן I have begotten thee out of the womb before the dawn, as the LXX reads, is very improbable. It seems more natural to regard the two words as two coördinated participles from *רחם* to love or to be attached to, and *יִשָּׂא* to seek zealously, properly to rise early in the morning.\*\* I therefore propose to read:

עָקֵב נִדְבָחוֹ בְּיוֹם חֵירָךְ בְּהַרְרִיקֶשׁ  
קִרְבִּי מִבֶּטֶן קִרְבִּי מִבֶּטֶן לְיוֹדֶךָ

\* Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part 5 (Berlin, 1892), pp. 43, 178.

† The *tertium comparationis* is not the freshness or youthful vigor (cf. *δρόσος*, *Æsch. Ag.* 139; *ῥοσά* *Od.* 9, 222; *ψάκαλον* *Æl.* V. H. 4, 47).

‡ I fail to see why it should be necessary to suppose that the author of the psalm had read Gen. 14, (Bäthgen, *Psalmen*, p. 342): Gen. 14 may be later than ψ 110.

§ This allusion to the Persian king, of course, had to be rather veiled, For *אֲרִין רַבָּה* cf. the title of the Persian king in the Achaemenian inscriptions: *šar qagqari apāta rabūti rapastum* "king of this great vast earth" (see Bezold, *Achämeniden-Inschriften*, p. 54, s. v. *rapāšu*).

|| He will not be like the Persian kings who insisted on drinking water from the Choespes (Herod. 1, 188) which was carried along in silver pitchers; he will be more like Sennacherib who, on his fifth campaign, drank the warm water of the skin bottles to quench his thirst: *me (mašak; cf. Beitr. z. Assyriol.* II, 237) *nādi (נָאֲדִי) qāqātī ana šūmī'a lū'asīl*. Professor Bezold (KB, II, 99, 80; Berlin, 1890) translates: *das Wasser der kalten Gebirgsquellen trank ich gegen meinen Durst*, as if it were a hardship for an Oriental to drink the water of a cold mountain spring! For *qāqātī* (fem. *qāqātī* NE. 17, 45; 19, 40) cf. Hebrew *קָיִץ* summer (Halévy, ZA. II, 436).

\*\* The expressions are unusual, otherwise they would not have been misunderstood for 2000 years.

†† Cf. Job 24, 5 (contra Siegfried, Job, p. 41 below. *שָׂא* is a synonym of *בָּקַשׁ* פָּנִים (Hos. 5, 15) = Assyriol. *dāgil pāni* (Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 131 below; cf. ψ 123).

\* Another case of a secondary shortening of an original *ā* is the well-known word *madar* "dwellings" (Cf. Ibn Batutah, ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, Vol. II, Paris, 1854, p. 400: *fa'innahā lā šajāra fihā wa-lā hājara wa-lā māḍara*, "there are neither trees, nor stones, nor dwellings.") *Madar* must be an Aramaic loan word, derived from *מָדַר*.

† See my note on Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt's *Assyrian Glossary* in my paper on *Two passages of the Chaldean Flood-tablet*, printed in the *Am. Orient. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1894, p. CVI, n. t.

‡ Cf. Dr. Stevens' remarks on *Messianic Psalms* in No. 106 of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (June, 1893), p. 108 b.

§ It is incorrect to translate *לֹאמַר* or *אָמַר* *he spoke saying*. In accordance with Gesenius-Kautzsch<sup>25</sup>, p. 337, n. 1, we ought to translate *לֹאמַר* *he said speaking*, in distinction from *הֵאמֵר* (Ezra 1, 1).

*Thy people are all enthusiasm on the day of thy warfare, on the sacred hills (of Jerusalem stands,) the dew of thy youth, loyally attached to thee and eager to follow thee. The reading עֲרֵבָה from עָרַב to seek zealously is suggested by the Sexta which gives instead of πρὸ ἐωσφόρου the verb ζητήσουσι σε.\**

### The Possessive Suffix of the First Person Singular in Assyrian. By PAUL HAUPT.

[Abstract of a paper presented to the University Philological Association, April 20, 1894.]

The possessive suffix of the first person singular in Assyrian is *-ia*. This is also the original form in classical Arabic, and the final *a*-vowel seems to have been long: in pause we find occasionally the form *-jah, id*, for example: *'abdiā* "my servant" (Kosegarten, § 1016, p. 444; Ewald, § 367; Caspari-Müller, § 36, rem. d), just as we find *hiā* for the *pronomen personale separatum* *hiā* "she" (Koseg., § 1009). The original length of the final *a*-vowel also appears in Assyrian, especially before the enclitic emphatic *-ma* (= Heb. *ם*, see *supra*). The intervocalic *i* is, of course, invariably elided in Assyrian.† So we find, for instance: *rešā-ma* "my head," *šixri-ma* "my youth," *nišā-ma* "my people." In several important passages the long *a*-vowel of the possessive suffix of the first person singular has been mistaken for the *negatio indirecta*: *a* = Ethiopic *i*. See my paper *On two passages of the Chaldean Flood-tablet in the Am. Or. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1894. We find the final *-a* also without the following *-ma*, for instance: *axū-a* "my brother" (cf. Jäger in *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, I, 454, note \*). The shortening of the original *-a* is the same as in the case of the relative pronoun *ša*, originally *šā*, which is nothing but the "accusative" (KAT<sup>2</sup> 518, s. v. *שׂ*) of the demonstrative pronoun *šū* "he," fem. *ši* "she" (contra Krätzschar, *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, I, 379 below). If I say, *šā* is the "accusative" of *šū*, I do not mean to say that *šā* is the real accusative case, otherwise I should not have put the word "accusative" in quotation marks. I simply think that *šā, ši, šā*, are arbitrary differentiations of the same word, just as *pā, pi, pā*, mouth (cf. my remarks ZDMG. 34, 758. In like manner I should say that the plural *bandina* "sons" in classical Arabic is based on the "nominative" *bnu*, and the plural *bēnān* in Syriac and modern Arabic is derived from the "genitive" *bni*, while the Ethiopic plural in *-ān* (Syriac *-āne*, § Assyriol. *-āni*, originally *-āmi*,|| for *-āma* \*\*) represents the plural of the "accusative." I hope to be able to publish a paper on the formation of the Semitic plural in the near future.

### The Assyrian Names of Lapis Lazuli and Magnesite. By PAUL HAUPT.

[Abstract of a paper presented to the University Philological Association, April 20, 1894.]

Pinches, Lyon, Steindorff, Hilprecht, Jensen, Meissner-Rost, have established the fact that *uknū* is the Assyrian name of lapis lazuli. Winckler, however, remarks on p. 105 of his *Altorientalische Forschungen* (Leipzig, 1893), that Sargon uses the name *uknū* with reference to the "antimony" tablet now in the Paris Louvre. According to Winckler the name of lapis lazuli is not simply *uknū*, but *uknū ebbu*, so that lapis lazuli would be termed *bright* ††

\* For the views of some scholars who find an acrostic in *ψ* 110 see the references to the London *Academy* (1892) given in Aug. Müller's *Orient. Bibliography*, Vol. VI (1892), Nos. 2331-938.

† (Cf. my *Sumerische Familiengesetze*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 65; see, on the other hand, Jäger in *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, I, 454, 473).

‡ The Arabic preposition *fī* "in" is the "genitive" or construct state of *fū* "mouth," cf. the Sumerian postposition *-ka* (ZK. I, 237 ff.) Sumerian *ka* "mouth," is used as the exponent of the genitive, but the genitive in Sumerian was originally a locative; cf. F. Max Müller's *Die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, [an Anglicism for *Sprachwissenschaft*], Vol. I (Leipzig), 1892, p. 317. [For the Arabic preposition *fī* Prætorius refers me to § 105b of his *Amharische Sprache* and Franz Dietrich's *Abhandlungen zur Semit. Wortforschung*, p. 229.]

§ See my paper *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 5.

|| See my *Beitr. z. Assyriol. Lautlehre* (Göttingen, 1883), p. 101, n. 5 (cf. *šamāniš*, "heavenward," Delitzsch's *Assyriol. Wörterbuch*, p. 275). See, on the other hand, Prætorius' remarks in Kuhn's *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*, Vol. I (Leipzig 1884), p. 199, n. 1.

\*\* The final *-i* in *-āni* for *-āma* (that is the lengthened ending of the "accusative" + emphatic *-ma* = Heb. *ם*) is due to dissimilation, while the *י* in the Hebrew termination of the dual *-ānim* is due to epenthesis of the final *-i* (cf. *סִסְקִי* for *siskaki*).

†† *Candidus*, cf. Pliny, 34, 26 (110).

or white antimony, which is manifestly absurd. Sargon does not tell us which of the inscriptions deposited in the foundations of Khorsabad is engraved on *uknū*, nor is there any "antimony" inscription. The so-called "antimony" tablet in the Louvre consists of magnesite.\* There are a number of magnesite objects in the Babylonian collection of the University of Pennsylvania.† The seven inscriptions found by Victor Place in 1853 were engraved on six tablets consisting of gold, silver, bronze, lead, magnesite and lapis lazuli respectively,‡ the seventh text being written on the large alabaster (*parātu*) § chest containing the six tablets. The alabaster coffer as well as the heavy lead tablet and the lapis lazuli inscription || were lost in the Tigris, but the four smaller tablets of gold, silver, bronze, and magnesite, are still preserved in the Paris Louvre.

Oppert (*Records of the Past*, vol. XI, p. 40) calls the magnesite inscription the "tin tablet," adding in a footnote: "this tablet is pretty well preserved; but the tin has been entirely oxydized, and could only be acknowledged [recognized] as such by the late Duc de Luynes who also found some traces of antimony in the material." This explains the name "antimony inscription" given to the magnesite tablet in the Louvre; it is simply based on the fact that the Duc de Luynes is said to have found some traces of antimony in it!

*Uknū* is also the name of a river often mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions. The water of this "Lapis Lazuli River" must have been of a rich blue color. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 195) identifies the *Uknū* with the modern Kerkha. Kiepert and Schrader, on the other hand, think that the Kerkha represents the Euleus, and the modern Karūn the *Uknū* (see the maps in Schrader's *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*). I believe that Schrader is right. It is interesting to note in this connection that Ibn Batūtah (ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, vol. II, Paris, 1854, p. 24) calls the River of Tustar (or Shushtar, cf. Reinaud's *Aboulféda*, II, I, 95; 2, 86) the Blue River, adding that its water is exceptionally clear and very cold even during the hot season. Ibn Batūtah says: I never saw a river whose water was so blue except the river of Balakhsian (*fa-lām āra ka-zūrgatihi illā nahr Balakšān*). The river of Shushtar was identified with the Karūn by Sir Henry Rawlinson (cf. Reinaud's *Aboulféda*, II, I, 74, n. 2).

### On the Natural Occurrence of Lapis Lazuli. By GEORGE H. WILLIAMS.

[Abstract of a communication made to the Baltimore Branch of the Archaeological Institute of America, April 2, 1894.]

On account both of its beauty and rarity, the natural ultramarine or lapis-lazuli has been held in high esteem from the very earliest times. For this reason the geographic distribution of this substance is a matter of some archaeological interest, especially since the small number of localities where it is known to occur, and the distinctive character of each, render the identification of the source of specimens, wherever they are found, in most cases quite possible.

Since the first artificial synthesis of ultramarine by Gmelin in 1830, the natural substance has lost its value as a pigment, for which, before that time, it was most prized. The brilliant blue mineral never occurs in a pure state in Nature, but is always intimately mixed with other silicates, the entire aggregate forming the rock called *lapis-lazuli*. Although this is now no longer used as the source of the paint ultramarine, it is still highly valued as an ornamental stone.

\* Cf. Berthelot's analysis quoted by Winckler in his *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1889), p. XI below.

† See Hilprecht's edition, plates 23, Nos. 56, 57; 25, No. 69; 26, No. 70; pl. X, Nos. 22, 24.

‡ In Assyrian: *zurāgu, kaspu, erā, andāku, abaru, uknū*.—*Erā* is bronze, *šiparru* copper, *parzillu* iron; cf. Winckler, *Altorient. Forsch.* 159-169.

§ For *parātu* "alabaster" cf. Jensen's remarks in ZA. IX, 128. *Pitū* is "limestone."

|| The lapis lazuli tablet may have been much heavier than the four tablets of gold, silver, bronze, and magnesite: No. 63 in Hilprecht's work is engraved on an irregular block of lapis lazuli, 17.5 cm. long, 11 cm. wide and 9 cm. thick. For other objects of lapis lazuli from Nippur in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, cf. Hilprecht's description, p. 49; pl. 15, Nos. 28, 30, 32; pl. 18, No. 36; pl. 21, Nos. 41, 42, 43, 46; pl. 22, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54; pl. 23, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62; pl. 24, 63; pl. 25, 64, 68; pl. 26, No. 71; pl. XI, Nos. 25, 28.

Lapis-lazuli is mentioned by Theophrastus as sprinkled with gold (σάμφειρος χρυσόπαστος).<sup>\*</sup> Pliny also alludes to the same feature of the "sapphirus,"<sup>†</sup> which he says were never translucent. It is this "sprinkling of gold" which best serves to identify the subject of these classical descriptions as lapis-lazuli, since this stone generally contains glistening particles of iron pyrites.<sup>‡</sup> Pliny further remarks that the best sapphirus came from the Medes.<sup>§</sup> The recent discovery of various discs and other objects made of lapis-lazuli among the remains of ancient Assyria carries the time when this stone was known and valued back to a much remoter period.||

A late elaborate investigation of the chemical, mineralogical and geological relationships of lapis-lazuli by Professors Brögger and Bäckström, of Stockholm,\*\* has brought to light many things of interest from an archaeological point of view. These authors conclude that the blue component of lapis-lazuli, or as they call this substance *lazurite*, is a complex sodium aluminum sulphosilicate, closely allied to sodalite and hauyne, which have also often a blue color. They regard all of these minerals as essentially alkaline garnets. The natural ultramarine or lazurite always occurs in highly metamorphosed limestones, which have been changed into silicate aggregates, belonging to the general class of metamorphic rocks known as *limesilicate-hornfels*.

The number of localities where lapis-lazuli is positively known to occur in Nature is exceedingly small. There are in fact but four regions which are known with certainty to produce it, and it can be shown to be very probable that one of these yielded all that was known to the ancients. One of these four localities is the piperino of Latium and the Vesuvian region where it occurs in ejected limestone fragments. Here, however, it is very unusual, and its exceptional form can lead to no possible confusion with material from any other locality. The more typical lapis-lazuli comes from Chili, from Lake Baikal in Siberia, and from near the head of the Oxus, in Badakshan. Of these the recently discovered Chilian locality can have no archaeological bearing, at least as far as the Old World is concerned. Asia is the great source of this stone and always has been.

Although many Asiatic localities are given in the literature where lapis-lazuli is supposed to occur, as for instance in China, Tibet, Persia and India, the careful and thorough review of this subject by Brögger and Bäckström †† lead them to the conclusion that there are only *two* well substantiated natural sources of lapis-lazuli in Asia. The other places whence it comes they regard rather as markets than as mines of this stone. There may, of course, be other mines, but if there are we possess at present no knowledge of their location. The many provinces of China, India and Persia, where it is reported to occur, have probably derived it for centuries past in the course of regular trade until they have finally become to be regarded as its ultimate source.

The two known lapis-lazuli localities have been frequently visited and described. They are still in active operation. The Siberian mines, which furnish the material so extensively used for ornamental purposes in Russia, are situated near the south end of Lake Baikal on three streams known as Talaja, Malaja-Bistraja and Sljüdjanka. They were all accurately described by N. Wersiloff, in 1857.‡‡ Compared with the Turkestan mines, the Siberian deposits have been known but a short time. The former are extremely ancient and have probably furnished a large part of all the oriental lapis-lazuli from the earliest times. They were visited and described by Marco Polo, in 1271. J. B. Fraser also visited them in 1825, but the most reliable information regarding their location, association and mode of operation is to be found in the description of Capt. John Wood who saw them in 1837-8.§§ According to the account of this explorer these

famous mines are 1500 feet above the bed of the river Kakcha, a tributary to the Oxus from the northern flanks of the Hindoo Cush mountains. Their very inaccessible position is the reason for their being so rarely seen. The locality is in Badakshan (ancient Bactria) in Turkestan. This country was early possessed by the Medes, which may account for their having been so early known to be in control of the best lapis-lazuli.

Several specimens of lapis-lazuli found among the Assyrian remains at Niffer by the University of Pennsylvania expedition were subjected to a microscopical examination by the writer, and were carefully compared with material from all known localities. One deep blue tablet carrying a votive inscription contained, beside pyrite, muscovite and diopside. A sacrificial axe of a much paler blue color and mottled appearance showed a much coarser grain than the other, and contained about as much pale grey diopside as lazurite. Both of these agreed in all essential respects with specimens from the Badakshan mines.

While, therefore, the proof cannot be considered as absolutely conclusive that the Assyrians obtained their lapis-lazuli from the head of the Oxus, all that we now know of the distribution of this mineral, as well as its microscopical structure, point very strongly to this conclusion.

## A Translation of Leviticus, Chapters 1-5. By DANIEL G. STEVENS, JR.

The following translation of Lev. 1-5 is based on the critical interpretation of these chapters given by Prof. Haupt in the Old Testament Seminary of The Johns Hopkins University during the session 1893-94. A special effort has been made to obtain a rendering which, while faithfully reproducing the sense of the original, should be free from Hebraisms and couched in phraseology intelligible to the average reader.

Chap. 4 is printed in italics to indicate that it belongs to the later strata of the Priestly Code, of which the Book of Leviticus forms a part. Expressions that seem to be glosses (e. g. 4, 12) are given in footnotes. The words enclosed in parentheses ( ) have been added by the translator to complete the sense.

### 1. The Burnt-Offering

of cattle (3-9); of the flock (10-13); and of birds (14-17).

- 1, 1 JHVH<sup>1</sup> called Moses and spoke to him from the Tent of Revelation<sup>2</sup>:  
2 Speak to the Israelites, and say to them: If one of you bring an offering to JHVH, he shall bring it of the domestic animals,  
3 either of the cattle, or of the flock.

In case the gift be a burnt-offering of the cattle, (the sacrificer) shall offer a male without blemish, bringing it to the entrance of the Tent of Revelation, that it may be accepted by JHVH. He shall lay his hand on the head of the burnt-offering,<sup>3</sup> and it shall be accepted on his behalf to make atonement for him. After the bullock has been killed before JHVH, Aaron's sons, the priests, shall bring the blood,  
6 and sprinkle it all around against the altar at the entrance of the Tent of Revelation. (Before it is offered) the burnt-offering must be skinned  
7 and cut into pieces. Aaron's sons, the priests, shall put fire on the altar,  
8 and pile up wood on the fire; they shall also arrange the pieces, including the head and the suet, on the wood that is on the fire on the  
9 altar; and after the entrails and legs have been washed, the priest shall burn the whole on the altar; it is a burnt-offering, an offering made by fire, yielding a sweet savor to JHVH.

10 If the gift for a burnt-offering be of the flock, (that is) of the sheep or of the goats, (the sacrificer) shall bring a male without  
11 blemish; it shall be killed on the north<sup>4</sup> side of the altar before JHVH; and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall sprinkle the blood against  
12 the altar all around; (the animal) shall be cut up, and the priest shall arrange the pieces, including the head and the suet, on the wood  
13 that is on the fire on the altar; and after the entrails and legs have been washed, the priest shall offer the whole, burning it on the altar: it is a burnt-offering, an offering made by fire, yielding a sweet savor to JHVH.

14 If the gift to JHVH be a bird as a burnt-offering, (the sacrificer) shall  
15 offer as his gift a dove, or a young pigeon; the priest shall take it to

<sup>\*</sup> *De Lapid.*, §. 23.

<sup>†</sup> *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIII, 21.

<sup>‡</sup> Cf. Dionysius Periegetes, 1105: "χρυσείης κνανήν τε καλήν πλάκα σαμφείροιο." Epiphanius (*De Gemmis*, 12, 227) mentions one kind of sapphire called *royal* (βασιλικός) and *spotted with gold* (χρυσόστιγνής) as being less valued than that which was altogether purple and came from India. (See N. F. Moore: *Ancient Mineralogy*, or an Inquiry respecting Mineral Substances mentioned by the Ancients, 2d ed., p. 220, 1859.)

<sup>§</sup> *Hist. Nat.*, XXXVII, 39.

<sup>||</sup> Lyon; *Proc. Am. Oriental Soc.*, May, 1889, and Hilprecht; *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, VIII, 185 (1893).

<sup>\*\*</sup> *Zeitschr. für Mineralogie und Krystallographie*, XVIII, 231-275, 1890.

<sup>††</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 249-253.

<sup>‡‡</sup> *Bull. de la soc. d. Nat. d. Moscou*, xxx (2), 518-529.

<sup>§§</sup> *A Journey to the Source of the Oxus*, 2d. Ed. (1872), p. 170.

the altar, and after having wrung the neck, shall burn it on the altar; (but before it be lured), the blood shall be drained out against the side of the altar, and the intestines removed as well as the feathers, and cast into the ash-pit on the east side of the altar; the wings of the bird must be disjointed without being wholly severed; (then) the priest shall burn it on the altar on the wood that is on the fire: it is a burnt-offering, an offering made by fire, yielding a sweet savor to JHVH.

## 2. The Bloodless Offering

presented in the form of fine flour (1-3); or of cakes variously prepared (4-10); or fresh ears of the first fruits (14-16). Some general directions regarding the bloodless offering are given vv. 11-12.

2. 1 IF A sacrificer bring a bloodless offering as a gift to JHVH, the gift shall be of fine flour; he shall give with it oil and frankincense, and bring it to Aaron's sons, the priests; the priest shall take from it a handful of the fine flour, with some of the oil, and all of the frankincense, and burn this *azkarah*<sup>5</sup> on the altar; it is an offering made by fire, yielding a sweet savor to JHVH. But the rest of the bloodless offering shall belong to Aaron and his sons: it is most holy,<sup>6</sup> taken from the offerings made by fire to JHVH.
- 4 If you bring as a gift a bloodless offering consisting of something baked in the oven, it shall be of fine flour made into unleavened cakes mixed with oil, or unleavened wafers with oil poured over them.
- 5 If your gift be a bloodless offering of something (cooked) on a griddle, it shall consist of fine flour mixed with oil, but without leaven; you shall break it into pieces, and pour oil over it: this is a bloodless offering. If your gift be a bloodless offering consisting of something boiled in a caldron, it shall be made of fine flour with oil. If you bring to JHVH a bloodless offering made of these ingredients, it shall be presented to the priest, who shall bring it to the altar. The priest shall take the *azkarah* from the bloodless offering, and burn it on the altar: it is an offering made by fire, yielding a sweet savor to JHVH. But the rest of the bloodless offering shall belong to Aaron and his sons: it is most holy, taken from the offerings made by fire to JHVH.
- 11 No bloodless offering that you bring to JHVH shall be made with leaven. You shall burn no leaven or honey<sup>7</sup> as an offering made by fire to JHVH. You may bring them to JHVH as an offering of first-fruits; but they shall not be offered on the altar for a sweet savor.
- 13 You shall season, however, every bloodless offering with salt: the salt (which is the token) of the covenant with your God is not to be omitted from your bloodless offering; with all your offerings you shall offer salt.
- 14 If you offer to JHVH a bloodless offering of first-fruits, you shall bring, as the bloodless offering of your first-fruits, early corn roasted at the fire, or early grain crushed, giving with it oil and frankincense: this is a bloodless offering. The priest shall burn as the *azkarah* some of the crushed grain with some of the oil and all of the frankincense.

## 3. The Love-Feast

of cattle (1-5); or of the flock, whether a lamb (6-11), or a goat (12-17).

3. 1 IF the offering be the sacrifice of a love-feast,<sup>8</sup> and (the sacrificer) bring of the cattle, male or female, he shall present one without blemish before JHVH, pressing his hand on the head of the offering. (After the animal) has been killed at the entrance of the Tent of Revelation, Aaron's sons, the priests, shall sprinkle its blood against the altar all around. (The sacrificer) shall present from the sacrifice of the love-feast, as an offering made by fire to JHVH, the caul-fat<sup>9</sup> as well as all the fat about the entrails, and the two kidneys with the suet about them, as well as that about the loins, together with the fat under the lesser omentum,<sup>10</sup> taking it out about the liver as well as about the kidneys. Aaron's sons, the priests, shall burn these (pieces) on the altar, upon the burnt-offering that is on the wood on the fire: it is an offering made by fire, yielding a sweet savor to JHVH.
- 6 If the offering for the sacrifice of a love-feast to JHVH be from the flock, (the sacrificer) shall bring a male or a female without blemish; if he bring a sheep as his offering, he shall present it before JHVH, laying his hand on the head of the offering. After it has been

- 8 killed in front of the Tent of Revelation, Aaron's sons, the priests, shall sprinkle the blood against the altar all around. (The sacrificer) shall present as an offering made by fire to JHVH, from the sacrifice of the love-feast, the suet as well as the entire fat-tail,<sup>11</sup> taking it away close up to the spine, also the caul-fat and all the fat that is about the entrails, as well as the two kidneys with the suet about them and that about the loins, together with the fat under the lesser omentum, taking it out about the liver as well as about the kidneys.
- 11 The priest shall burn these (pieces) on the altar: this is a meal given as an offering made by fire to JHVH.
- 12 If the offering be a goat, (the sacrificer) shall bring it before JHVH, laying his hand on the head. After it has been killed in front of the Tent of Revelation, Aaron's sons, the priests, shall sprinkle the blood against the altar all around. (The sacrificer) shall offer from it as his gift, as an offering made by fire to JHVH, the caul-fat as well as all the fat about the entrails, and the two kidneys with the suet about them as well as that about the loins, together with the fat under the lesser omentum, taking it out about the liver as well as about the kidneys. The priest shall burn these (pieces) on the altar, as a meal in the form of an offering made by fire, for a sweet savor to JHVH.
- 17 All the fat belongs to JHVH; it is a perpetual statute for you and your descendants wherever you may dwell: you shall eat neither fat nor blood.

## 4. The Sin-Offering

for the High-Priest (3-12), for the Congregation (13-21), for a Chief (21-26), and for one of the people, whether a goat (27-31), or a lamb (32-35).—Enumeration of offenses requiring a sin-offering (5, 1-6). The offering of those whose means do not suffice for the regular sin-offering, is to consist of birds (7-10), or of flour (11-13).

4. 1. 2 JHVH said to Moses: Speak to the Israelites as follows: In case a person sin inadvertently by doing anything prohibited by JHVH; if (for instance) the high-priest sin so as to bring guilt on the people, he shall offer to JHVH, for the sin he has committed, a young bullock without blemish, as a sin-offering. He shall bring the bullock to the entrance of the Tent of Revelation before JHVH, laying his hand on the head of the bullock. After the bullock has been killed before JHVH, the high-priest shall take some of the blood of the bullock into the Tent of Revelation, and the (officiating) priest, dipping his finger in the blood, shall sprinkle the blood seven times before JHVH in front of the curtain of the sanctuary. The priest shall also put some of the blood on the horns<sup>12</sup> of the incense-altar before JHVH, in the Tent of Revelation, but pour out all the (rest of the) blood of the bullock on the base of the altar of burnt-offering, at the entrance of the Tent of Revelation. He shall also offer all the fat of the bullock of the sin-offering, the caul-fat as well as all the fat about the entrails, and the two kidneys with the suet about them as well as that about the loins, together with the fat under the lesser omentum, taking it out about the liver as well as about the kidneys, just as it is taken out of the ox of the sacrifice of the love-feast. The priest shall burn these (pieces) on the altar of burnt-offering, but the skin of the bullock as well as all the meat, including the head, legs, and entrails, with their contents (unwashed, in short) the whole bullock shall be taken out of the camp to the dumping ground,<sup>13</sup> where the ashes are thrown, and shall be burned on wood.\*
- 13 If the whole congregation of Israel err, the error being hidden from the eyes of the assembly, and they thus have become guilty by doing something prohibited by JHVH, the assembly shall present, as soon as the sin committed becomes known, a young bullock without blemish as a sin-offering, bringing it before the Tent of Revelation. The representatives of the congregation shall lay their hands on the head of the bullock before JHVH; and after the bullock has been killed before JHVH, the high-priest shall take some of the blood of the bullock into the Tent of Revelation; and the (officiating) priest, dipping his finger in the blood, shall sprinkle it seven times before JHVH, in front of the curtain. He shall also put some of the blood on the horns of the altar before JHVH, in the Tent of Revelation, but shall pour out all the (rest of the) blood on the base of the altar of burnt-offering, at the entrance of the Tent of Revelation. All the fat from the bullock shall be taken out and burnt on the altar; thus shall it be done with the bullock: just as it was done with the bullock of the (first) sin-offering, so shall it be done with this. Then the priest shall make atonement for them that they may be forgiven: the bullock shall be taken out of the camp, and burned as the first bullock was burned; this is the sin-offering for the assembly.

\* it shall be burned where the ashes are thrown.

22 If a chief sin and incur guilt by doing inadvertently anything prohibited  
23 by JHVH, his God, he shall bring as his offering, as soon as he becomes aware  
24 of the sin he has committed, a male goat without blemish, laying his hand  
on the head of the goat, and it shall be killed before JHVH in the place where  
25 the burnt-offering is killed; this is a sin-offering. The priest shall take with  
his finger some of the blood of the sin-offering, and put it on the horns of the  
26 altar of burnt-offering, but shall pour out the (rest of the) blood on the base of the  
altar of burnt-offering. He shall also burn all the fat on the altar, just as in  
the case of the fat of the sacrifice of the love-feast. Thus the priest shall make  
atonement for him to cleanse him from his sin that he may be forgiven.

27 If one of the common people inadvertently sin by doing anything prohibited  
28 by JHVH, and thus incur guilt, he shall offer, as soon as he becomes aware of  
29 the sin he has committed, a female goat without blemish, as his offering for  
the sin he has committed, laying his hand on the head of the sin-offering.  
After the sin offering has been killed in the place where the burnt-offering is  
30 killed, the priest shall take with his finger some of the blood, and put it on  
the horns of the altar of burnt-offering, but shall pour out all the (rest of the)  
31 blood on the base of the altar. All the fat shall be taken out, just as the fat is  
taken out in the case of the sacrifice of the love-feast; and the priest shall  
burn it on the altar for a sweet savor to JHVH; thus the priest shall make  
atonement for him that he may be forgiven.

32 In case a man offer a lamb as a gift for a sin-offering, he shall present a  
33 female without blemish, laying his hand on the head of the sin-offering.  
After it has been killed as a sin-offering in the place where the burnt-offering  
34 is killed, the priest shall take with his finger some of the blood, and put it on  
the horns of the altar of burnt-offering; but shall pour out all the (rest of the)  
35 blood at the base of the altar. All the fat shall be taken out, just as the fat  
of the sheep of the sacrifice of the love-feast is taken out. The priest shall  
burn the (pieces) on the altar, on the offerings made by fire to JHVH; thus the priest shall make atonement for him on account of the sin he has committed, that he may be forgiven.

5, 1 If a person, in spite of his having heard the voice of earnest admonition, sin by not giving testimony when he is a witness, no matter whether he have seen the thing or (only) heard of it, and thus incur guilt; or, if a person touch an unclean thing, whether it be the carcase of an unclean wild beast, or the carcase of an unclean domestic animal, or the carcase of an unclean reptile, and he thus become unclean, and  
3 incur guilt, though he may not be aware of it; or, if he touch the unclean secretion of a human being, in fact, anything unclean, whereby he may be made unclean, and thus incur guilt; no matter whether it  
4 be unknown to him, or whether he be conscious of it; or, if a person rashly swear with his lips, (no matter) whether it be to his disadvantage or to his advantage, in fact anything about which a man may rashly swear, and thus incur guilt, whether it be unknown to him, or  
5 whether he be conscious of it, if it has thus happened that a person has incurred guilt in any one of these ways, and confesses that he has  
6 sinned in this manner: then he shall offer, as his guilt-offering to JHVH for the sin he has committed, a female from the flock, either a sheep or a goat, for a sin-offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him on account of the sin he has committed, that he may be forgiven.

7 But if his means do not suffice for a lamb, then he may present to JHVH, as the guilt-offering for the sin he has committed, two doves or  
8 two young pigeons, one for a sin-offering and one for a burnt-offering; he shall bring them to the priest, who shall offer the one for the sin-offering first, wringing the neck without severing the head. He shall  
9 sprinkle some of the blood of the sin-offering against the side of the altar, while the rest of the blood shall be drained out at the base of  
10 the altar; it is a sin-offering. The second bird shall be offered as a burnt-offering in the proper manner; thus the priest shall make atonement for him to cleanse him from the sin he has committed, that he may be forgiven.

11 But in case his means do not suffice for two doves or two young pigeons, he may offer as a gift for the guilt he has incurred, the tenth part of an ephah<sup>14</sup> of fine flour for a sin-offering, adding to it neither  
12 oil nor frankincense, for it is a sin-offering. He shall bring it to the priest, and the priest shall take a handful of it as the *azkarah* and burn it on the altar, upon the offerings made by fire to JHVH; it is a  
13 sin-offering. Thus the priest shall make atonement for him on account of the sin he has committed in any of these ways, that he may

be forgiven; but the offering shall belong to the priest just as the bloodless offering.

### 5. The Guilt-Offering

for dues withheld by mistake (5, 14-16); for guilt incurred unconsciously; for perjury.

14, 15 JHVH also said to Moses: If a person commit a breach of faith in keeping back by mistake part of the dues of JHVH, he shall bring, as a guilt-offering to JHVH, a perfect ram from the flock, worth at least two shekels according to thy valuation on the basis of  
16 the standard shekel.\* In addition he must restore what he has withheld by mistake from the dues, with one-fifth added to it; and after he has given that to the priest, the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt-offering, that he may be forgiven.

17 If a person sin by doing anything prohibited by JHVH, he becomes guilty and must bear the consequences, though he may have been  
18 unconscious of it. He shall bring, as a guilt-offering to JHVH, a perfect ram from the flock according to thy valuation;† and the priest shall make atonement for him on account of the error he has inadvertently committed, that he may be forgiven. This is a guilt-offering; he has certainly incurred guilt before JHVH. And JHVH  
20, 21 also said to Moses: If a person sin and commit a breach of faith (by appealing to) JHVH in denying the claims of another person to a deposit, or to a pledge, or to something stolen or extorted from another  
22 person; or if he find something that was lost and deny the claims (of the owner) to it; (in short) if he commit perjury in reference to  
23 any of the things wherein a man may sin; if it has thus happened that a man has sinned and incurred guilt, then he shall (in the first place) restore what he obtained by theft or by extortion, or the deposit  
24 that was deposited with him, or the lost thing that he found, (in short) anything in reference to which he may have committed perjury, restoring it in full, with one-fifth added to it, and give it to the rightful owner on the day he makes his guilt-offering. Then he  
25 shall bring to the priest, as his guilt-offering for JHVH, a perfect ram  
26 from the flock according to thy valuation, as a guilt-offering. The priest shall make atonement for him before JHVH that he may be forgiven for anything he may have done and incurred guilt thereby.

### Notes.

- (1) The usual pronunciation of the divine name *Jehovah* is due to false vocalization. To avoid violation of the commandment in Ex. 20, 7, the Jews did not pronounce the name, but substituted for it, wherever it occurred in the text, the title *Adonai* "Lord" (in the LXX: *δ κύριος*). The Masorites therefore attached the vowels of this word to the consonants of JHVH, of which the true pronunciation is *Yahvé* (יהוה, i. e. the imperfect of the causative stem of the verb *היה* (an older form of *היה*) to be, meaning *he who causes to be*, or *Creator*).
- (2) Not the *tabernacle of the congregation* where the people assemble, nor the *tent of meeting* where JHVH meets Israel; these translations do not adequately express the meaning of the phrase. It means rather the appointed place where JHVH reveals himself to Moses and declares his will concerning Israel; therefore it had better be rendered: *Tent of Revelation* (in German: *Offenbarungszelt*).
- (3) Intimating that he thereby would transfer his guilt to the guiltless offering.
- (4) In order to bring the victim as near as possible to the Deity, who was supposed to have his dwelling-place in the north where the mountain of the assembly of the gods was situated; cf. Ezek. 1, 4; Isa. 14, 13.
- (5) The word *azkarah* is an Aramaic inf. Afel from *זכר* to remember, meaning *causing to remember* or *reminding*. It is used as a technical term for the portion of the offering that was burned on the altar to remind JHVH of the person for whom the offering had been made. The Aramaic word is certainly not less intelligible to the reader than the obscure rendering of the Authorized Version: *memorial* (in the Vulgate: *memoriale*).

\* as a guilt-offering.

† as a guilt-offering.

- (6) And therefore not to be touched by anyone except a priest consecrated to the service of JHVH's house.
- (7) Leaven and honey undergo fermentation suggestive of decomposition and impurity; hence they are excluded from the list of bloodless offerings.
- (8) That is, a *friendly meal* (cf. the German *Liebesmahl*, of a mess of army officers, &c.) to which the giver invited his friends and neighbors. Meat was not the daily food of the Orientals; every slaughter was in the nature of a sacrifice; and in this particular instance the offering was the occasion of a social gathering.
- (9) The fat with which the caul is loaded, *i. e.* the folded membrane known as the *great*, or *gastrocolic omentum* (Greek: τὸ ἐπιπλοον) which covers more or less of the intestines in mammals (somewhat like an apron). It is at once visible when the animal is opened. The butchers call this fat, as the writer has found by personal inquiry, the *caul-fat*. The Authorized Version translates: *the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that (is) upon the inwards*. Few readers will be able to see what difference there is between *fat that covers the entrails* and *fat that is upon the entrails*. Professor Haupt thinks it not impossible that הכסה is really a noun meaning *cover* (כִּסָּה or כִּסְּהָ, cf. Lev. 9, 19), so that the original expression would have been אֶחָדֵי הַכֶּסֶה, the words על הקרב (Lev. 4, 8) or את הקרב representing subsequent explanatory additions.
- (10) In Hebrew termed simply יתר *excess* or *excrescence*; this cannot refer to the lobes of the liver, but seems to denote the fat about this organ, which becomes visible as soon as the *lesser*, or *gastrohepatic omentum*, connecting the stomach and the liver, is removed.
- (11) Fat-tailed sheep are still raised in Palestine; the fat of the tail sometimes develops to such a mass that it becomes necessary to put this weighty appendage on a little wagon harnessed to the animal.
- (12) At the corners on the top of the altar were projections shaped like horns, which, perhaps, in the case of the altar of burnt-offering, served the purpose of hitching-posts, to which the animals might be tied.
- (13) Literally: *a pure place*, an euphemistic expression denoting the place where the general refuse from the sacrifices as well as the ashes was dumped. See the note in Professor Haupt's paper on *The Origin of the Pentateuch in the Amer. Orient. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1894, p. CIII. A similar euphemism is the modern Hebrew בית החיים *house of life for cemetery*. For euphemistic expressions in Semitic, compare the interesting remarks of Consul Wetzstein appended to the fourth edition of Franz Delitzsch's commentary on the Psalter.
- (14) This Hebrew dry measure is supposed to be equal to two pecks and five quarts.
- (15) The headings of the chapters are based on the analysis of the book given in Professor Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 40.

### The Songs of the Return. By DANIEL G. STEVENS, JR.

[Abstract of a paper read before the University Philological Association, March 16, 1894.]

The so-called *Songs of Degrees*, Pss. 120-134, have long attracted attention by the enigmatical title (שיר המעלות) they bear. Numerous explanations of this phrase have been offered; but most of them are either unfounded conjectures, or else are seen to be incorrect when an attempt is made to apply them to the Psalms in question. The only explanation which, it seems, clearly accounts for the title and is borne out by the contents of the pieces, is that which makes these Psalms *Songs of the Return*.

The word מעלה, which is definitely employed of the Ascent from Babylon in Ezr. 7, 9, might certainly be used absolutely in the sense of the *Return*, since to the Jews of the 5th century B. C. the word describing that great event was doubtless invested with an exact connotation just as the *Reformation* conveys but one idea to us.

The plural מעלות does not, however, refer to the several ascents (cf. Ezr. 2, 1; 7, 1 ff.), but, as Prof. Haupt has suggested (cf. *Hebraica* II, Jan. 1886, p. 98, n. 2), the phrase שיר המעלות should be rendered *Songs of the Ascent*, it being, according to a peculiar construction in Semitic, the plural of a singular שיר המעלה *the Song of the Ascent*; so that the title is out of place as the designation of a single Song and names the collection to which these

pieces belonged. Under this title might be included not only poems referring to the event itself, but also Psalms written in anticipation of it, or that relate to the history of the first period subsequent to the Return.

In the Masoretic text the *Songs of the Return* are not arranged in chronological order. The following is an attempt to dispose them in historical sequence according to their references to the events of the period.

At the release from captivity in 538, the voice of song, long subdued to a plaintive minor key, burst forth in exultant strains of praise to JHVH, such as we find in Ps. 124. This wonderful deliverance aroused great expectations, which were not realized; repeated failures of crops intensified the gloom of the situation, which called forth prayers such as that in Ps. 126, a piece purposed, it would appear, to raise the drooping spirits of the colonists in the dark years preceding the commencement of work on the temple. Partisan strife between the rival factions of the high-priest Joshua and the Davidic prince Zerubbabel now also began to work mischief; efforts to allay the prevalent bitter feeling were made by some thoughtful men, one of whom, it appears, expresses his ideas in Ps. 133. In Zerubbabel were centered the Messianic hopes of the time, which the prophets Haggai and Zechariah said would obtain fulfillment when the temple was built; this condition was fulfilled in 516; a reflection of the desires and anticipations that clustered about the glad event, seems to appear in Ps. 132, a song employed apparently at the services of dedication.

To the period intervening between 516 and the coming of Ezra in 458 no Psalm of this group seems to belong; the time was marked by neglect of JHVH's ordinances. To reform the community on the basis of the Law that had been prepared in Babylonia, Ezra, the scribe, determined to go to Jerusalem. He received authority from Artaxerxes, and assembled a company of those willing to go with him. But, almost on the eve of departure, the perils of the journey presented themselves to the people; Ezra, who had asserted that JHVH would help, was ashamed to ask for a military escort, and therefore held a service of fasting and prayer, in which JHVH was entreated to give the necessary protection; this situation is perhaps the one pictured in Ps. 121. On his arrival, Ezra began at once his chosen work, and through his preaching the conviction of sin came to rest heavily on the conscience of the people, and the need of divine redemption was keenly felt; these feelings appear in Ps. 130, which was, it may be, composed at this time. Ezra's strict regulations with regard to marriage and the consequent numerous divorces of non-Jewish women provoked the antagonism of neighboring peoples, whose hostile efforts reduced the Jews to a state of misery, in which they suffered from the scorn of their enemies; a reference to this mournful situation appears to be contained in the appeal to God in Ps. 123.

In 445 Nehemiah became governor of Jerusalem; but his vigorous work for the welfare of the community was not supported with unanimity; many nobles and wealthy men withheld assistance and oppressed the poorer laborers who were in their debt by exacting excessive security and heavy interest; in this light we understand Ps. 122, an address to the whole people, urging them to promote the welfare of the city and promising that personal blessings will thus be secured.

The disaffected elements in the community sought by acting in collusion with the enemy outside of Jerusalem to accomplish the ruin of the brave governor; Nehemiah made the people work very hard from dawn to evening's twilight; this haste in building the walls seemed to some to indicate distrust in JHVH's power to protect the city; the population was small, and the marriage-reforms of Ezra, with whom Nehemiah was in sympathy, seemed unlikely to secure the thing which the opponents of Nehemiah considered needful, *viz.* the building-up of the families; moreover Nehemiah appears to have been a eunuch, a fact which exposed him to the reproach of childlessness; this thought lends additional point to Ps. 127, which, it seems, obtains most satisfactory explanation when regarded as having originated among the enemies of Nehemiah. Ps. 128 somewhat resembles Ps. 127, though it seems to lack the polemical element in that piece, and may perhaps have been written to urge the colonists to piously perform the requirements of the Law.

While the defences of the city were assuming shape, reports were being circulated that the Jews intended to revolt and to make Nehemiah their king; these reports reached the Persian officers in Samaria who promptly communicated them to the king; it was now a period of anxious suspense in Jerusalem: an attack might be made on the city by the hostile tribes in the neighborhood, and the work of the slanderers might prove disastrous.

This situation seems to be that we find described in such strong language in Ps. 120. To this time should perhaps be assigned also Ps. 131, in which, it appears, the Jews recognize the futility of the hope of regaining their national independence, and declare themselves content with remaining a dependency of Persia.

The success of Nehemiah's undertakings strengthened public confidence in the fortunes of Israel; the consequent bright anticipations of future welfare appear to be reflected in the cheering language of Ps. 129.

So long as the orthodox Nehemiah controlled affairs, the Law accepted in 444 was kept; but, on his return to Persia in 432, abuses crept in; when he again visited Jerusalem, he at once with wonted vigor adopted measures of reform. Ps. 125 seems to have been written at this time with the purpose to confirm the faithful and to warn heretics.

Ps. 134 may be explained as the doxology of the little hymnal; or, perhaps, it was employed during the long nights of sleepless watching against the foe at the time Nehemiah was rebuilding the walls.

It is not maintained that the references suggested here are exact in every detail; still the fact seems to remain that these Psalms are best explained as illustrating the early history of the post-exilic community.

### Ancient Eastern Politics. By CYRUS ADLER, Librarian of the Smithsonian Institution.

(Abstract of a lecture delivered in the Saturday Public Lecture Course at the U. S. National Museum, Washington.)

The philosophy of history held by the Biblical historians and prophets was, that wickedness is punished in the State as it is in the individual. That this stern ethical point of view may have caused the Biblical writers to obscure some of the elements in the life and growth of the nations of ancient Western Asia, few will, upon reflection, deny. It is proposed to examine the course of events in the ancient Mediterranean world prior to, and connected with the Babylonian exile of the Jews, from the point of view of international politics.

Throughout the entire historical period, the Empire of the Nile and the Empire of the Euphrates were contending for the mastery of the Mediterranean, then the civilized world. Yet the event was conditioned by the action of the smaller states, and of parties and politicians within those states.

Egypt considered herself the natural mistress of Syria and the Sinaitic Peninsula. In the sixteenth century B. C., the entire country we call Palestine was an Egyptian outpost. From the Tell-Amarna tablets we have learned that the city of Jerusalem itself was than an Egyptian garrison. The Valley of the Nile commands Syria; both by land and sea Syria is nearer to Egypt than to South Arabia or any portion of the Mesopotamian Valley, a fact as well known to the ancient Jewish politicians as it is to the reigning Sultan of Turkey. No doubt mere contiguity determined the traditional Jewish policy as that of alliance with Egypt.

Geographically considered, it was almost impossible that Palestine and Syria should remain independent states. In a conflict they could not remain neutral, as their territory was inevitably the battle-field. There is no period of which we possess historical documents that does not furnish some evidence of the struggle for mastery between Egypt and Western Asia.

Both Snefru (2530-2506 B. C.) and Chufu (Cheops) of the fourth dynasty were obliged to defend Egypt against the inroads of the Bedonins of the Sinaitic peninsula. Meri Ra Pepi (2530-2510 B. C.) of the sixth dynasty, succeeded in repelling these incursions after five arduous campaigns. Five centuries later it was common to find Asiatics making their way peaceably into Egypt, but it is possible that these migrations were contemporary with the Hyksos domination which continued from the XIVth to the XVIIth dynasty (—1530 B. C.), it being generally held that the Hyksos were of Asiatic origin. Aahmes I finally drove them out of Egypt and followed up his victories into Asia, even invading Phenicia. Thothmes I made still further inroads upon Asia. He marched into Syria, defeating a large army assembled to bar his progress, and pressed on to the Euphrates, where he set up two stelae to mark the boundary of his empire.

The policy of the Egyptians in Asia seems to have been singularly weak. They lacked the Roman genius for the creation of a great Empire. In

political capacity the Assyrians and Babylonians far surpassed the Egyptians, and they were the real forerunners of Rome in the genius which they evinced in dealing with subject states. After spending great efforts in subduing a country, the Egyptians would calmly leave the governor, whom they had set up, to his fate, and at some future time would conquer the country anew.

No sooner was this vast Empire of Egypt in existence than revolts broke out. Thothmes III destroyed a confederated uprising at Megiddo in 1480 B. C. Later in his reign he captured Carchemish and Tyre, and was obliged in turn to wage war against the Hittites, the King of Neharen, and later still against another revolt in which Hittites, Syrians, and Mesopotamians joined; but the coalition was defeated, and all Western Asia became tributary to Egypt.

We now come to a new period in the history of the relations between Egypt and Asia. It must have become evident to the Egyptians that no expenditure of force could successfully overcome Asia, and accordingly treaties begin to take the place of battles. It is the reign of Amenophis III (1413-1377 B. C.) which marks the beginning of this new era. This is the period covered by the Tell-Amarna tablets, from which we learn that a treaty was ratified between Dushratta, King of Mitanni, a portion of Mesopotamia, and the Egyptian King. The reign of his successor shows a still more striking growth of Asiatic influence. Amenophis IV (1376-1364 B. C.), known as Chuen-aten, is specially interesting as being the promulgator of a new religion, probably of Asiatic origin. This religion was a solar monotheism, the new god being Aten, the solar disc. Chuen-aten made treaties with Dushratta, King of Mitanni, Burnaburiash, King of Babylonia, and Ashurballit, King of Assyria.

In the XIXth dynasty (1330-1180 B. C.) the Egyptian armies were no longer a terror to the Mesopotamian countries, but they still succeeded in holding Palestine, Phenicia and Southern Syria in the kingdom.

Seti I (1316-1289 B. C.) apparently made up his mind to permanently occupy Canaan, and thus secure Egypt against all further inroads from Asia. His reign is coeval with the growth of the power of the Hittites. His successor, Rameses II, (1288-1221 B. C.) had as his most formidable enemies, the Hittites. He marched as far as the Nahr-el-Kelb, (Dog's River) north of Beirut, where he erected a stele, but his battles with the Hittites were inconclusive, and resulted in alliances rather than conquests. By the treaty which was contracted, Egypt retained Phenicia, Palestine, and Southern Syria.

The XXth, XXIst and XXIIrd dynasties mark a period of decline in the power of Egypt. Under Rameses III (1180-1148 B. C.) the Egyptian dominion over Palestine was seriously threatened, but not yet shaken.

By the time of Pasebchann II (the last king of the XXIst dynasty) Palestine had become a strong independent state. This king was probably a contemporary of Solomon. He gave his daughter in marriage to the Jewish king, and, as a dowry, captured the city of Gaza. It was under Solomon, whose reputation for foresight is sadly impaired when his foreign policy is examined, that those alliances began, which however advantageous for the moment, proved in the end the ruin of Israel. In return for the assistance rendered by Hiram, King of Tyre, in his building operations, Solomon ceded twenty towns of the borderland of the country, which afterwards became famous under the name of Galilee, to the Phenicians. He also made the first alliance with Egypt, which in the end proved ruinous both to Israel and Judah.

Sheshonk I, (945-924 B. C.) the Shishak of the Bible, was the king to whose court Jereboam fled. Shishak no doubt assisted him to return and become king of the ten tribes, he having married Pharaoh's sister-in-law. Shishak invaded Palestine, and, after plundering the country, invested and captured the city of Jerusalem in the fifth year of King Rehoboam. He sacked the city and carried off the treasures of the Temple. The city is designated in the Egyptian inscriptions Yudba Melek, "the royal Jewish city."

The period of the history of Assyria in which the influence of that power became paramount, is usually known as the second or new Assyrian Empire. It begins with Tiglathpileser II, (745 B. C.) who first united the crowns of Assyria and Babylonia, and includes the brilliant reigns of the Sargonide dynasty. In this period Assyria subjected Egypt, Babylon, Elam, Media, and a host of smaller States. It ends with the seemingly sudden and apparently incomprehensible fall of Nineveh and destruction of the Assyrian state.

And now the tide has turned in the ancient world. Assyria is the great power, Egypt is on the defensive, but Syria and Palestine are still the battleground. This is made particularly evident in the reign of a king of the Ethiopian dynasty, Shabaku, (728-726 B. C.), So of the Bible, Shabek of the Assyrian inscriptions. This king became mixed up in Asiatic affairs; Hosea, King of Israel, had joined other Syrian monarchs in a rebellion against Shalmaneser IV, King of Assyria, and the allies had sent to Shabaku asking his assistance. The plot was discovered. Hosea was put in prison in Assyria, and Samaria was invested, but Shalmaneser died before the city fell. His successor, Sargon II, conquered it in 722 B. C. Thus the Kingdom of Israel came to an end through a lack of recognition of the fact that Assyria had taken the place of Egypt as the mistress of the ancient world; the reed was already broken.

The Syrians were not daunted, and soon formed another coalition against Assyria, at the head of which stood Ilubid, of Hamath. This coalition embraced Arpad, Smyrna, Damascus, Gaza and Egypt, but they were easily defeated in detail by Sargon, and Egypt was forced to send tribute. A new coalition was formed upon the accession of Sennacherib to the Assyrian throne, in which not only were all the states mentioned above pitted against Assyria, but they even had Babylonia as an ally. One by one, however, they were all overcome.

Isaiah originally opposed the alliance of Judah with Assyria; nevertheless, Ahaz, when hard pressed by Damascus, besought the alliance of Tiglath-Pileser. But later the great prophet opposed with all his might the conspiracy entered into by Hezekiah against Sennacherib. Still Hezekiah continued his negotiations with Egypt. Sennacherib accused him of treason. Jerusalem was besieged, when suddenly pestilence broke out in the Assyrian army, and the siege was raised.

Sennacherib was assassinated in 681 B. C., and after a brief interregnum his son, Esarhaddon, ascended the throne in 680. Trouble between him and Tarhaka began in 672, when King Baal, of Tyre, relying on promises of aid from Egypt, rebelled against Assyria. Esarhaddon determined to put an end to Egyptian interference in Asia. A detachment of his troops marched against Tyre while the main body proceeded to Egypt. Memphis and Thebes were sacked, and the country was divided up among twenty petty native sovereigns. In 668 Asurbanipal (Sardanapalus) came to the throne. Tarhaka, who had fled to Egypt, encouraged by this change of rulers, attempted to shake off the yoke. Thebes received him with open arms, and Memphis he captured. Asurbanipal advanced to Karbana, a town north of Memphis, and utterly routed Tarhaka.

Assyria was now tottering to its fall. The XXVIth dynasty (645-525 B. C.) marks an Egyptian renaissance. Psametek I, (645-610) of the house of Sais, aided by mercenaries, sent by Gyges, King of Lydia, succeeded in freeing Egypt. The Pharaohs now entered upon the fatal policy of gaining the friendship of the Greeks, a policy which possessed some advantages, but which finally resulted in the permanent downfall of Egyptian independence. While the Medes and the Babylonians had been busy with the overthrow of Nineveh, Egypt had either subjugated or laid tribute all of Syria. (Wellhausen.) But the glory of Egypt was brief. It was due to the fact that the Babylonians were engaged with others in giving the death-blow to the Assyrian Empire. Nineveh fell in 606. This business being over, Nebuchadnezzar, the conquering Babylonian, turned his attention to the Egyptians, and in 604 defeated Neko at Carchemish.

Such, then, were the political conditions immediately preceding the Babylonian exile of the Judaeans. For a better understanding of this catastrophe, it may be well to take a glance at the state of the ancient world in the seventh century. Babylon and Egypt were the principals in the struggle, yet a survey of the minor powers may not be without value. When the last great struggle between Egypt and Babylon was under way, Palestine and Tyre, as well as the other cities of Phenicia, were drawn to the side of the Egyptians, while the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites and Philistines remained in the enforced league of Nebuchadnezzar; it was well for them that they did.

Western Asia is at the present time divided up between Turkey, Russia, and Persia, but the ancient map is by no means so simple. Taking Palestine as the point of departure, we see that it was hemmed in by the Philistines on the Southwest, and the Kingdoms of Damascus and Phenicia on the North. Eastward, stretching sometimes as far as the Black Sea from the Persian Gulf, was the Assyro-Babylonian Empire. East of Babylon

were the Elamites, and North of them the Medes. The Greek Archipelago and portions of the coast of Asia Minor were already Hellenic, but the larger part of the sea coast was Lydian.

The Samaritans were an important factor in this and succeeding periods. They were the mixed race, largely Assyrian soldiers, who were settled in the Northern Kingdom after its capture by Sargon. They came principally from the cities of Cutha and Sippara, and at first practiced their own idolatrous religion. Conforming, however, to the notions of those people, they adopted the god and religion of the country in which they had settled, and were incensed at not being welcomed by the Judaeans. The Phenicians were the chief manufacturing and trading community of the ancient world. The Medes rose to great power in 635, and had much to do with bringing about the fall of Nineveh, but they in turn succumbed to Cyrus. The nomad Scythians, who overran Western Asia about the middle of the seventh century, engaged the attention of the various states, and thus delayed the fall of Nineveh. The Idumeans, from among whom a King of Israel was ultimately to spring, were almost hereditary foes to Israel. Greece had not yet become a power of importance. It was fully fifty years after the Babylonian exile before the Greeks commenced to play a leading part in international politics. Rome was still a shadowy state whose historic period only begins with the beginning of the Republic. (509 B. C.)

It was when the families of nations were in these relations that Judaea, at the instigation of Egypt, revolted against Babylonia. This action was taken at the advice of the court against the constant warnings of the prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who saw that nothing could stay the hands of the conqueror, Nebuchadnezzar. Once during the siege (in February or March, 586) King Hophra did actually make an attempt to redeem his promise of aid to the deluded Judaeans. He sent an army of such size that Nebuchadnezzar temporarily raised the siege of Jerusalem. But this respite was of short duration. The Egyptians were defeated and the Babylonians returned to the siege with increased energy.

Thus it has been made evident that the downfall of both the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah was at the hands of the Assyro-Babylonians; that it was an incident in the struggle between the Assyro-Babylonian and Egyptian Empires, and that it was occasioned by the mistaken policy of alliance with Egypt, steadily persisted in by the kings and nobles, against the advice of those great statesmen, the prophets whom Renan has not inaptly termed "divine demagogues."

Previous to the rise of the two great Aryan powers, Persia and Greece, the destinies of the world lay between the Nile and the Euphrates.

It is commencing to be understood that geography and history are kindred sciences. The statement alone furnishes the reason for the Syrian states, Palestine among them, being the constant sport of greater empires, always between the upper and nether millstone. The wonder is not that Palestine was so soon, and so often subjugated, but that it ever maintained its independence. Geographical considerations, too, may explain this latter fact.

The mountainous character of the country, and the almost unrivalled situation of Jerusalem, told against the invader.

No new facts are here presented, but it is thought that their setting may be suggestive of the fact that a human study of the ancient world has lessons even for our day.

### The Suffix Pronoun of the Second Person Feminine Plural in Assyrian. By C. JOHNSTON.

[Abstract of a paper read before the University Philological Association, November 17, 1893.]

If we examine the suffix pronoun of the second person in the Semitic languages, we find that, in the singular, the same form prevails throughout, *-ka* for the masculine, and *-ki* for the feminine. In Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian, the forms are *-ka* and *-ki*, although in the latter occurs also the rarer form *-ku*, as a by-form of the masculine *-ka*. In Hebrew these were also the original forms, since the feminine suffixes *ך* after a singular noun and *כן* after a plural noun are merely due to an epenthesis of the vowel of the feminine suffix *-ki*; moreover, the feminine suffix *ן* actually occurs in *ψ 137, 6*. In Aramaic the same is the case, the masculine suffix being

ך and after a vowel simply ך; the feminine ך, after a vowel ך, where, though the final ך is written, it is no longer pronounced. It is clear then that, although some slight modification has occurred in Hebrew and Aramaic, the forms *-ka* for the masculine and *-ki* for the feminine appear in all the Semitic languages. When, however, we examine the plural forms, we do not observe the same uniformity. The Arabic forms are, masculine, *-kum* shortened to *-kun*; feminine, *-kunna*; and with these correspond Hebrew כּ, כּ, \* and Ethiopic *-kēmū*, *-kēn*, which are due to a modification of the original *u* vowel. In Aramaic, however, we have masculine כּ, feminine כּ, and in Assyrian, masculine *-kunu*. In Arabic, Hebrew and Ethiopic, therefore, the final כ marks the masculine, the final ך the feminine form, while in Aramaic a final ך appears in both cases, the difference of gender being indicated by a change in the vowel. If, now, these forms be compared with the suffixes of the third person, a close agreement is apparent. In Arabic they are: second person, masculine, *-kumu*; feminine, *-kunna*; third person, masculine, *-kunu*; feminine, *-kunna*; Hebrew, second person, masculine, כּ, כּ; third person, כּ, כּ; Ethiopic, second person, masculine, *-kēmū*; feminine, *-kēn*; third person, masculine, *-hēmū*; feminine, *-hēn*; where the long vowel *ō* is due to the analogy of the contracted forms *-ōmū*, *-ōn* (Praetorius, *Aeth. Gramm.*, p. 24, note 2, and p. 66). Aramaic, second person, masculine, כּ; feminine, כּ; third person, masculine, כּ, feminine, כּ. Assyrian, second person, masculine, *-kunu*, *-kun*; third person, masculine, *-šunu*, *-šin*; feminine, *-šina*, *-šin*; and reasoning from the close analogy existing between the suffixes of the second and third persons plural, the Assyrian second feminine plural suffix should be *-kina* or *-kin*, as stated in Wm. Wright's *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, edited by Prof. W. Robertson Smith (Cambridge, 1890), p. 96. The form *-kina*, *-kin*, however, has not actually been found in any Assyrian text.

We have so far considered only the simplest forms of the Assyrian suffix pronoun. There exist, in fact, two sets of suffixes, one appended to nominal forms, the other to verbs, and called respectively the *pronomina suffixa nominalia*, and the *pron. suff. verbalia*. All these suffixes, however, may be derived from the simpler forms mentioned above, and need not be fully discussed here. The usual forms are as follows: *Nominalia*, second person plural, masculine, *-kunu*, *-kun*, feminine by analogy *-kina* or *-kin*, though not actually found, third person plural, masculine, *-šunu*, *-šin*, feminine, *-šina*, *-šin*.

*Verbalia*: second person plural, masculine, *-kunuši*, third person plural, masculine, *-šunūti(u)*, *-šunūši*, feminine, *-šinūti*, *-šinūši*.

These latter forms are derived from the simpler *nominalia* by the addition of the plural terminations *-āti(u)*, or the masculine and *-āti(u)* for the feminine. The fact that we have the endings *-āši* and *-āši* alongside of *-āti* and *-āti* has been explained by Prof. Haupt as due to an attempt to represent the spiration of the intervocalic *n*. On the analogy, therefore, of the nominal suffixes *-kunu*, *-šunu*, *-šin*, *-šina*, *-šin*, we should expect the nominal suffix pronoun of second person plural, feminine, to be *-kina*, or *-kin*; while on the analogy of the verbal suffixes *-kunuši* (for *-kunūti*), *-šunūti(u)*, *-šunūši*, *-šinūti*, *-šinūši*, we would look for a verbal suffix of the second person, feminine, plural of the form *-kināši*, and this latter form actually occurs.

On plate 29\* of the second edition of the IV vol. of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (London, 1890) is published a series of incantations directed against diseases of the eye. The greater number of these charms are addressed to certain goddesses designated as the daughters of Anu, god of heaven. They are exhorted to come to the relief of the sufferer, bearing jars of pure crystal filled with purifying water, and to overcome and drive out the diseases which have seized upon his eye. "May they drive out and cut off the raging fire within his eye." It is in one of these incantations we find the verbal suffix *-kināši*. 4, C, Rev., col. 1, l. 11, we read: *ammēni iqribkināši baqu ša nāri daldallū ša gišimmari* "why does he offer ye mud from the river and palm-branches?" ll. 12-13: *alsikināši alkāni ul alsikināši ul tallakāni lam ubākināši šāru reštū šāru šanū šāru šašū šām rebi*, "I have called ye, come, I have not called ye, come not until there come to ye the four winds, i. e., when I have called ye," &c. In this brief text, then, the verbal suffix of the second person, feminine, plural occurs four times in three lines.

\*According to Professor Haupt the vowel of the masculine suffix כּ is based on the analogy of the feminine כּ (= *-kina*, *-kima*). In Arabic *-kum(u)*, *-kunna*, on the other hand, the vowel of the masculine prevails.

Since writing the above Professor Haupt has called my attention to the fact that Dr. Bruno Meissner in the theses appended to his inaugural dissertation, *De servitute Babylonico-Assyriaca* (Lipsiae, typis Augusti Pries, 1892), stated: *Suffixum verbale personae secundae feminini pluralis in lingua assyriaca est kinaši* (IV<sup>2</sup> R, 29,\* 13<sup>b</sup>). I am delighted to find that so excellent an Assyriologist as Dr. Meissner independently arrived at the same conclusion. According to Prof. Haupt the original forms of the suffix of the second person plural in Semitic were *-kumu*, and *-kima*, the change of the intervocalic *m* to *n* representing a secondary modification. The forms *-kumu* and *kima* are composed of the singular suffixes *-ku* (a by-form of the masculine singular suffix *-ka*, e. g. Assyrian *abuku* 'thy father') and *-ki* combined with the *pronomina indefinitum* *-ma* "somebody," i. e. the same element we find in the prefix of the participles of the derived conjugations. In *-kumu* (for *-kuna*) the final *u*-vowel arose under the influence of the *u* in the preceding syllable: *abukumu* "your father" is properly "father of thee and somebody," cf. the Sumerian suffixes *-zunene* or *-zuene*, &c. (Haupt, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 139, § 8; *Akkad. Sprache*, Berlin, 1883, p. 12).

After the forms with intervocalic *-n* had been restricted to the feminine (as we find them in Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopic), the original *-m* being retained in the masculine forms, it was no longer necessary to preserve the vocalic differentiation *u-i* in the two genders. We, therefore, find in Arabic *-kumu*, *-kunna* instead of *-kumu*, *-kina* (= *-kima*). In Aramaic and in Assyrian (which, in fact, is but an older local variety of Aramaic) the vocalic differentiation was always retained, and consequently there was nothing to prevent the change of intervocalic *m* (כּ Ezra 7, 17, and כּ, *ibid.* 5, 3, 9; 7, 24) into *n* in the masculine forms after the analogy of the feminine *-kina* for *-kima*. The plural forms of the pronoun of the third person *kum*, *huma*, in Assyrian *šunu*, *šinu* originated, of course, in the same manner; the original forms being *šumu* (= *šū + ma*) and *šina* = *ši + ma* "she + someone." In this way we obtain a glimpse into the agglutinative stage of parent Semitic speech.

### Assyrian Medicine. By C. JOHNSTON.

[Abstract of a paper read before the University Philological Association, March 16, 1894.]

According to the statement of Herodotus (I, 197) the Babylonians did not employ physicians, but brought their sick to the market-place in order to receive the advice of such persons as might be able to suggest a remedy, derived from their personal experience, or from that of their friends.

The statement is entirely erroneous. The fact that physicians existed and were held in high esteem, both in Assyria and Babylonia, is abundantly attested by the cuneiform inscriptions. They belonged to the priestly class, and in their practice combined magic with more rational methods. It was the general belief that sickness was due to the agency of demons, or evil spirits which invaded the body of an individual and produced all manner of diseases.

A large number of charms and incantations has been found, having for their object the expulsion of these malevolent spirits and the restoration of the sufferer. Most of these charms are fantastic and absurd in the extreme, but occasionally the magical formula veils a really sensible prescription. For example, in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. IV, p. 29\* (col. iv, rev., ll. 6-8) is a charm for the cure of a disease of the eyes, which directs the application of crushed palm-bark, and it is immediately followed (ll. 10-26) by another in which ground bark is recommended as a remedy for the same affection. In both these cases it is evident that the virtue of the charm lies in the astringent application recommended; it is, in fact, a measure very similar to the use of tea-leaves, a well-known household remedy frequently resorted to in cases of inflamed eyes. It would be interesting to know just what proportion of superstition and rationality entered into the practice of medicine in Assyria and Babylonia, but the material at present available is too scanty to allow of a settlement of the question. Among the epistolary tablets are a few letters from physicians, and from these it may be gathered that these ancient practitioners did not entirely depend upon magic arts. In one of them, for example, plugging the anterior nares is recommended in a case of epistaxis; in another, where, however, the nature of the malady is not stated, the patient is advised to anoint himself with snail, to wash his hands frequently in a bowl, and to abstain from all beverages except pure water.

A letter of this description (S. 1064) is published with transliteration, translation and commentary in Samuel Alden Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipal's*, Part II, pp. 58-63. It is a letter from a physician reporting the condition of a patient under his charge who seems to have been laboring under opthalmia or, more probably, erysipelas.\*

Mr. Smith translates as follows: *An den König, meinen Herrn, dein Knecht, Arad-Nanâ. Friede sei für immer und immer dem König, meinem Herrn; mögen Ninep und Gula Gesundheit des Herzens (und) Gesundheit des Fleisches dem König meinem Herrn geben. Ewig Friede! Um die allgemeine Entzündung zu vermindern die um seine Augen ist, einen Verband darüber habe ich gebunden. Über seinem Angesicht erhöht es sich. Gestern, wie vorher, die Wunde, die mitten hinein gekommen ist, öffnete ich. Die Binde, die darauf (war), nahm ich ab. Eiter auf der Binde war, die Grösse der Spitze des kleinen Fingers. Deine Götter, wenn sie irgend sein Fleisch darüber wiederherstellen können, lasse du anfehlen, und sein Mund wird ausgehen: "Ewig Friede! Das Herz des Königs, meines Herrn, sei gut." Noch 7 oder 8 Tage wird er leben.*

Mr. Smith remarks (l. c., p. 58) that the disease was hardly a natural one, but that the patient had received one, or perhaps several wounds, one of which, affecting the head, was likely to prove mortal. The original, however, contains no mention whatever of a wound, nor does the writer seem to regard the case as likely to have a fatal termination. In fact, Mr. Smith has entirely missed the sense of the text, for which I would propose the following translation:

To the King, my lord, thy servant Arad-Nanâ!

Greeting again and again to my lord, the King! May the gods Adar and Gula grant health of mind and body to my lord, the King! All is well. With reference to that sick man whose eyes are diseased, I had applied a dressing covering his face. Yesterday, towards evening, undoing the bandage which held it (in place), I removed the dressing. There was pus upon the dressing the size of the tip of the little finger. If any of thy gods has put his hand to the matter, that (god) must have given express commands.† All is well! Let the heart of my lord, the King, be of good cheer! Within seven or eight days he will be well.

### The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians. By C. JOHNSTON.

[Abstract of a paper read before the University Philological Association, April 20, 1894.]

Under the title of Assyrian letters is included a large number of documents varying greatly in regard to contents and scope. They deal with almost every phase of life in Assyria and Babylonia, and are sometimes of considerable historical importance. Among them are reports of military and civil officers of the Empire, letters of Kings, and of private individuals, proclamations, petitions, reports of priests on omens celestial and terrestrial, reports of physicians concerning patients committed to their care; in short, nearly every species of epistolary composition is represented in these interesting texts.

A systematic classification of them is at present out of the question, since the great majority of them is still unpublished, while the information as to their contents supplied by Bezold's *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection* is of the vaguest possible character. Many of those already published are, moreover, as yet very obscure.

The value of these letters both from the historical data they contain and from the light they throw upon Assyro-Babylonian life and manners is obvious. Thus, for example, from the proclamation of Asurbanipal to the Babylonians, in IV R<sup>2</sup>, 45, No. 1, we learn something of the methods adopted by his brother Samassumukin to stir up the people to revolt, and of the efforts of the Assyrian King to avert the threatened calamity.

K. 13 (IV R<sup>2</sup>, 45, No. 2), a dispatch from the Assyrian General, *Bel-ibni*, reports the flight of Ummanaldas, King of Elam, from his capital, and furnishes valuable details in regard to the events, which resulted in the invasion of Elam and the sacking of Susa, described in that portion of the

Annals of Asurbanipal recording the eighth campaign of that monarch; while the dispatch K. 10 (Pinches' *Texts*, p. 6), proceeding from the same writer, affords an insight into the distracted state of Elam, which, weakened by internal factional contests, fell an easy prey to the Assyrian arms.

The letters of the old courtier *Rammân-šum-ušur* afford a glimpse into the manners and customs of the Assyrian Court of the days of the Sargonides, and two of them especially, K. 183 and K. 595, are models of courtly style. The former complains that, owing to the machinations of powerful enemies, the writer's son had failed to obtain a place at court, to which, it would seem, his birth entitled him, and, in moving terms, appeals to the King to remedy the injustice done him. The latter (K. 595), a reply apparently to a kindly and familiar letter from the King, contains two distinct plays upon words, by ringing the changes upon which the writer conveys a series of compliments to his royal master.

In the text K. 629, the priest *Nabû-šum-iddina* gives the programme of a religious ceremony, accompanied by a procession, to be held in honor of the god *Nabû* in the city of Kêlah, in which he proposed to take part, and concludes with pious wishes for the welfare of the prince, to whom the letter is addressed. Letters from priests, indeed, are very numerous, and usually contain answers to requests for information concerning lucky or unlucky days, charms and similar matters. The picture of King Nebuchadnezzar, in the Book of Daniel, calling in the aid of his magicians and soothsayers, is by no means overdrawn.

In spite of the very complete system of laws evidenced by the contract tablets, we often find petitions complaining of the subversion of justice to private ends, but it must be remembered that all such petitions are *ex parte* statements, and that few men, who lose a case at law, acquiesce entirely in the justice of the decision.

So many sculptures have been found representing Assyrian Kings riding in chariots drawn by spirited steeds, that it is interesting to find a number of letters reporting the arrival of horses for the use of the King, his household, or his officers, and to learn that the most highly prized breeds of these animals were the Ethiopian and the Median.

These few examples will give some idea of the contents of the letters, and of what we may expect to learn from them when a sufficient amount of material has been made accessible. The study, however, is by no means an easy one. These texts, varying in length from six or seven, to sixty or seventy lines, proceed from a great variety of writers, and come from every part of the Assyrian Empire. Individual differences of style occur, as a matter of course: the styles of the courtier *Rammân-šum-ušur*, and of the soldier *Bel-ibni* distinctly reflect the personalities of the writers. Dialectic peculiarities are to be expected, but here great caution must be exercised. Above all it must be borne in mind that these letters are not composed in the classical language of the historical and poetical texts, but in the colloquial speech of Assyria and Babylonia, of the time of the Sargonides. Much, of course, depends upon the subject-matter and the personality of the writer. The soldier, the priest, the physician, the astrologer, each has his technical terms and his peculiar style: but even the most elevated epistolary style differs considerably from that of the official historical texts. Words and forms abound which are only to be found in this branch of Assyro-Babylonian literature, and the long and flowing periods of the classical texts are here replaced by terser forms of speech. The syntactical constructions are less rigid, while the employment of shorter sentences and the frequent use of the particles, especially of the emphatic enclitic *-ni*, renders the style vivid and lively.

In speaking of the epistolary literature of the Assyrians, reference has been had to the letters of the later period, that of the Sargonides (B. C. 722-606), and, as for a long time no others were known to exist, the term has become so permanently fixed that it has been retained here for the sake of convenience. Its application is now, however, no longer strictly accurate. In the winter of 1887-88, some natives found, at Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt, about 350 cuneiform tablets which proved to consist of letters and dispatches addressed to the court of

\* Cf. Dr. M. Bartels' paper on *e'u* in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. VIII, p. 179. According to Dr. Bartels' *murûq quqqadi* "the disease of the head," or *te'u* is the Assyrian name of erysipelas.

† i. e. in order to bring about so desirable a result.

\* Professor Sayce remarks in his new book *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* (London, 1894), p. 47: In the pronunciation of the natives of the place the final consonant of *Tel* is not doubled before the following vowel. To write *Tell*, therefore, is to commit an act of incorrect pehantury. Sayce, however, writes *Tell el-Hesi*. It is certainly not necessary to spell the word with double *t* in English, in German it is different.

Egypt of the 15th century B. C. Amenophis III (1449 B. C.), of the 18th dynasty, married, as has long been known from the Egyptian monuments, a Mesopotamian princess named *Tii* or *Thi*, by whom he became the father of his successor, Amenophis IV. The latter, who reigned only about twelve years, seceded from the national worship of Amen, and endeavored to substitute for it that of Aten, or the solar disk. His attempts were frustrated by the vigorous opposition of the priesthood, and he retired to a place about 180 miles above Memphis on the Nile, where he built a new town, temple and palace.

It was in the ruins of this palace, near the modern village of Tel el-Amarna, that these invaluable tablets were found. They consist of letters and dispatches from Asiatic monarchs—among them *Burnaburiash*, king of Babylon, and *Ašur-uballiš*, king of Assyria, both previously known from the cuneiform inscriptions—and from Egyptian prefects and governors of a large number of towns in Syria and Phœnicia. All these tablets are written in a variety of the cuneiform script intermediate between the old linear and the later cursive form, but bearing a closer affinity to the Assyrian than to the Babylonian style of writing. One of these letters is composed in the language of *Arçapi*, another in that of *Mitani*, Mesopotamian districts, no specimens of whose languages had previously been discovered. With these two exceptions, the language employed is Assyro-Babylonian, but, as in the letters of the Sargonide period, it differs considerably from that of the historical inscriptions. The language of the dispatches from Syria and Phœnicia exhibits, moreover, a number of peculiarities due to the influence of Canaanite environments, and in some cases genuine Canaanite words are added as glosses to explain Assyrian words. The letters from the more distant Asiatic princes are uniformly friendly in tone and refer to treaties with Egypt, to mutual alliances by marriage, and to interchange of gifts.

With the close, however, of the reign of Amenophis III, begins a series of letters from the Egyptian officers, in Syria and Phœnicia, indicating the decadence of the Egyptian power in that quarter. Revolt after revolt is reported, and the aid of troops is constantly demanded. The cities are all falling away from the king; the friends of Egypt are few and weak, and surrounded by powerful enemies; unless supported by strong reinforcements, they can no longer hold out and the country must soon be lost. Most of these tablets are to be referred to the reign of Amenophis IV, who, weakened by his unsuccessful contest with the priesthood of the old religion, was unable to keep in check his Syrian vassals, while the latter were prompt to take advantage of his weakness in order to achieve their independence. It is a most interesting fact that five of these letters are from the governor of Jerusalem, which thus appears as a city of importance even before the Exodus.

The Tel el-Amarna letters have naturally attracted great attention: no less than 113 papers devoted to the subject are registered in the excellent bibliography appended to the British Museum edition of the texts, which appeared in 1892. The field, however, is by no means exhausted. Comparatively few of these valuable and interesting documents have, as yet, been satisfactorily translated, and the recent discovery of a cuneiform tablet at *Tel el-Hesi*, the site of the ancient Lachish, gives fair promise that, at a no very distant day, the treasure may receive material additions.

### Written Examination of C. Johnston, M. A., in his Principal Subject, Assyriology.

- (1) Give a transliteration and translation of the Incantatory Hymn to Gilgamesh, Haupt, *Nimrod Epic*, p. 93. Comment on
  - (a) the name *Gilgamesh*,
  - (b) first word of l. 4,
  - (c) third word of l. 6,
  - (d) last but one word of l. 6,
  - (e) last but one word of l. 8,
  - (f) second word of l. 10.
- (2) Give a transliteration and translation of the bilingual Hymn to Istar, Haupt, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 116, No. 15, explaining the grammatical features of both the Sumerian text and the interlinear Assyrian version.

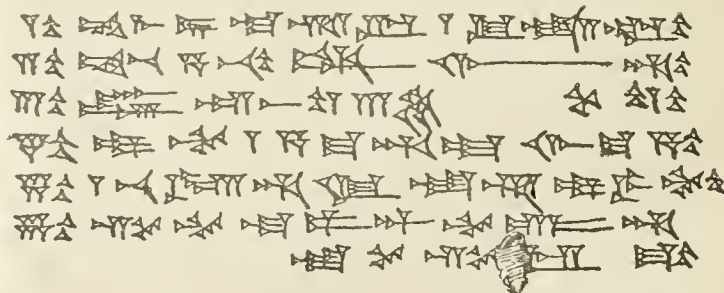
Comment especially on

- (a) the dialectic forms in the Sumerian text;
  - (b) the Sumerian plural ending,
  - (c) the Sumerian postpositions,
  - (d) *kaldmu*,
  - (e) *mušteširtu*,
  - (f) the name *Ištar*,
  - (g) *-idu* "hand,"
  - (h) permissive of the Shaphel,
  - (i) the names of the gods in ll. 10-15 of the reverse.
- (3) Give a transliteration and translation of the Inscription of Elvend. Comment especially on
    - (a) the pronoun *agd*,
    - (b) the name Xerxes,
    - (c) the last word of l. 11.
  - (4) Give a cuneiform translation of the following unpunctuated Hebrew sentences:

א נכרי בא הנה ישנה לשנות כים מן הכאר הוצא כי חורב הוא:  
 ב אם לא סת יבוא רנה ככשנים קדמוניות:  
 ג לא ראיתי את אחיך ורם לא ראוני:  
 ד והאמר האשה אל אישה אך האמר אהבתני ישנאת אחי ולא אהבתני:  
 ה אני אשר אלהיך אשר הוצאתיך מבית עבדים:  
 ו רבו פשעיו משעירות ראשו:  
 ז כי תגביה כנשר תנך אם בין נוכחים ישם תנך משם איריך נאם אשר:

### Written Examination of C. Johnston, M. A., in his first Subsidiary Subject: Hebrew.

- (1) Point-and translate the unpunctuated text of the first chapter of the Book of Ruth. Comment especially on
  - (a) וקנתי כהיות, v. 12;
  - (b) והעננה, v. 13;
  - (c) באחריו, v. 16;
  - (d) באשר, v. 17;
  - (e) כי, v. 17;
  - (f) ויהם, v. 19;
  - (g) כרא, v. 20.
- (2) Give a Hebrew translation (punctuated) of the following cuneiform sentences:



### Written Examination of Daniel G. Stevens, Jr., in his Principal Subject: Biblical Philology.

- (1) Point the unpunctuated text, and give a translation in modern English, of Ps. 110.
- (2) Add some comments on
  - (a) the superscription: *A psalm of David*,
  - (b) Messianic Psalms,
  - (c) the Hebrew original of the Septuagintal Version of the psalm.
- (2) Give some comment on the principal differences in the two Biblical accounts of Creation, adding some remarks on Hexateuchal analysis in general (text unpunctuated).
- (3) Give a Hebrew translation of the following letter:

*My dear Friend,*

It is now two months since I wrote to you requesting you to purchase for me, in your great kindness, the book which I pointed out to you. I had hoped that you would accede to my request, but behold, my dear friend, up to this time you have not sent me anything, and my soul has waited in vain for a letter. Did not my letter reach you? for I do not understand what can hinder you. Are you sick in bed? I hope not. Is your time so precious that you cannot devote half an hour to your friend who has served you many a day? But I rely on your kindness. It is impossible that you should treat me unfairly, and the letter from you and the book in question your friend who loves you as himself is expecting

DANIEL G. STEVENS.

### Written Examination of D. G. Stevens, Jr., in his first Subsidiary Subject: Assyrian.

- (1) Give a transliteration and translation of the Assyrian version of the Sumerian incantation, Haupt, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 78, rev. ll. 7 ff.

Comment especially on

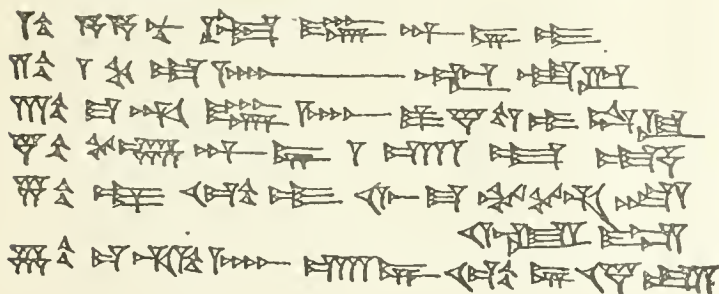
- (a) the last word of l. 11 (p. 79),
- (b) the first word of l. 15,
- (c) the last word of l. 25.

- (2) Give a transliteration and translation of the second campaign of Sardanapalus against Egypt and Ethiopia (V R. 2, 28-48).

Comment especially on

- (a) *šūzubu*,
- (b) *innabil*,
- (c) the last but one word of l. 47.

- (3) Give a Hebrew translation of the following cuneiform sentences:



### Report on Mr. D. G. Stevens' Thesis, entitled *The Songs of the Return*. By Professor GEO. F. MOORE.

The thesis which has been submitted to me is a "Critical Commentary on the Songs of the Return, with an Historical Introduction, Linguistic Notes, a Review of the Versions, and three Indices." In the first part of the Introduction (p. 6-54), the author discusses the title *shir hamaalôth* prefixed to each of these Psalms. The numerous and diverse interpretations of this title are divided into four classes: 1. those which treat it allegorically; 2. those which explain it as a technical designation of some peculiarity in the metrical or rhetorical structure of the poems; 3. those which take it as a liturgical note indicating the place or occasion on which they were recited; 4. those which find in it a reference to the time or circumstances in which they were composed. This comprehensive review of the history of interpretation is painstaking and intelligent; the criticism of the proposed explanations generally clear and to the point.

The theory which the author adopts, as indicated by the title of his thesis, is that these Psalms are "Songs of the Return," using the last word somewhat widely for the period of the Jewish restoration between 538 and 432 B. C. With a number of other scholars he thinks that the title properly belonged to the collection, Ps. 120-134, as a whole; and that the repetition of the words before each of the pieces composing it was the work of an editor or scribe. It is not necessary, however, to assume that the original form of

the title was *shîrê hamaalôth*; *shîr hamaalôth* may be explained, as Haupt and W. Robertson Smith have suggested, as a plural like *bêth abôth*, 'families,' and mean "The Songs of the Ascent, or Return." The objections to this explanation are not discussed.

The second part of the Introduction (p. 55-129) is an outline of the history of Judah from 621 to 432 B. C. This sketch is of somewhat disproportionate length; and that part of it which covers the period from 621 to 538 has no immediate bearing on the subject in hand. The author names as the writers whom he has chiefly consulted in the preparation of this part of his thesis, Stade, Kittel, and E. Meyer; in general he follows the first of these scholars closely, and his sketch may not unfairly be described as a résumé of the corresponding chapters of Stade's "*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*."

The Commentary exhibits in the first place a translation of the Psalms in what the author conceives to be their chronological order. The reasons for this arrangement are given in the Explanatory Notes which follow, in which the age of the several Psalms is discussed and the attempt made, by minute observation of the correspondences between the state of things implied in the Psalms and the history of the community in Jerusalem, to determine the dates more exactly. These notes also give the general interpretation of the Psalms. They are supplemented by the Linguistic Notes, which deal with peculiarities or difficulties in the vocabulary or grammar of the Psalms. These are followed by an emended Hebrew text of the Psalms, and, finally, by an examination of the principal variations of a number of versions.

The translation merits praise both for its faithfulness to the original and for the purity of the English. The attempt to determine the order, and at least in a general way the date of the several Psalms upon the ground of internal indicia which are frequently both scanty and vague is a very delicate critical task, and the results necessarily possess varying degrees of probability. If I should say that the author's solutions seem to me frequently over-ingenious or over-subtle, I should, perhaps, be expressing my own skepticism rather than making a valid criticism upon his work. Only in rare instances, however, does he appear to me to strain the interpretation of his text to sustain the critical hypothesis. The explanation of the Psalms is adequate and judicious; the commentary is especially strong in illustration from other parts of the Old Testament. The Linguistic Notes show a good knowledge of the Hebrew Language and a trained grammatical intelligence. I regret that I cannot speak in equally favorable terms of the Review of the Versions. The author has diligently examined the Septuagint and the fragments of the other Greek versions, the Syriac Peshitto, and the Targum;—the translation of Jerome from the Hebrew is, for some unexplained reason, not included in the survey. In comparing these versions with the Hebrew text he has not sufficiently observed the character of the translations and the usage of the individual translators; and, in consequence, very often infers that the translator had before him a discrepant Hebrew text where there is not the least ground for such a surmise. A single illustration may make my meaning clearer. On Ps. 124, 4. (p. 409) Mr. Stevens writes: "Sym. *ὡς χελυαῖροι* . . . and *ἑτερος*: . . . *ὡς φάραγξ* . . . had כְּנִחָלִים." The insertion of *ὡς*, however, to make the figurative character of the language clear to the dullest reader, is a well-known and characteristic mannerism of Symmachus' translation, to which Field has rightly called attention in his note on this verse (cf. *Prolegomena*, p. xxxii. f.). The plural in *ὡς χελυαῖροι* (Field's restoration of the Hexaplar Syriac אֲרִי אֲרִי is very dubious, when compared with Chrysostom. There is thus no reason to suppose that Symmachus had any other Hebrew text than ours.

In addition to the ancient versions named above, the author has examined the four mediæval Arabic translations reprinted by Lagarde. These versions are derived (directly or mediately) from the Septuagint, or—in one case—from the Peshitto (Doederlein, in the *Repertorium für bibl. und morgenl. Literatur*, 1778, 1779; Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, &c.). Mr. Stevens treats them as if they were translations from the original, and seeks to explain their peculiarities by variations in the Hebrew texts. What is most remarkable is that, to the end of his investigation, he does not appear to have suspected the true state of the case.

The list of literature appended to the Preface shows that the author has consulted the critical and exegetical literature pretty extensively, though there are some noticeable omissions.

Of the thesis as a whole I would say that it displays a sound knowledge of the Hebrew language, a painstaking and intelligent study of the Psalms of Degrees, and a clear and orderly method in the presentation of the results. Without any striking originality, the author manifests solid learning, sound training, and good judgment.

I cordially recommend that the thesis be accepted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

#### REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE ORIENTAL SEMINARY DURING THE SESSION 1893-94.

Fifteen courses were given in the various departments of Oriental research during the past year, special attention being paid to the study of the Old Testament and the Cuneiform Inscriptions bearing upon it. Dr. Cyrus Adler, Associate in Semitic, resigned after the Christmas recess to devote his entire time to his duties as Librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, his lectures on the history of Assyria and Babylonia being continued by Dr. C. Johnston.

To the study of the *Old Testament* seven hours weekly were devoted through the year. Prof. Haupt gave a critical interpretation of the Book of *Leviticus*, special stress being laid on an accurate rendering of the legal style of the book into modern English. A translation of some specimen chapters of the book, prepared by Dr. D. G. Stevens, Fellow in Semitic, is given in the present number of the *University Circulars*. Prof. Haupt also conducted two courses in *Elementary Hebrew*, interpreting the opening chapters of the Pentateuch. A class met weekly throughout the year to read at sight selected portions of the historical and poetical Books of the Old Testament under the guidance of Dr. Johnston. The advanced students handed in to Prof. Haupt bi-weekly written exercises containing idiomatic Hebrew expressions translated from English. Instruction in post-Biblical Hebrew was given during the first half-year by Dr. Adler, the Talmudic tract *Babâ Bathrá* being studied with special reference to its bearing on the Canon of the Old Testament. Prof. Haupt gave a course of lectures weekly during the first half-year, discussing the principal problems of the *Textual Criticism* of the Old Testament. During the second half-year he gave a course of lectures on *Heracleuchal Analysis*, besides delivering a general lecture on the *Genesis of the Bible* in Levering Hall, February 27.

Under the direction of Prof. Haupt the *Assyrian Seminary* met two hours weekly through the year, studying selected bilingual texts in the fourth volume of Sir Henry Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, as well as the vocabularies in the second volume of that work and in Haupt's *Keilschrifttexte*. This work was supplemented by occasional exercises in *Cuneiform Prose Composition*, the members of the class rendering dictated Hebrew sentences into Cuneiform. Dr. Johnston met the third year students of Assyrian two hours weekly, interpreting bilingual Hymns and Psalms during the first half year, and selected Babylonian historical texts during the second half-year. Dr. Adler gave a series of lectures on the *History of Assyria and Babylonia* with special reference to its bearing on the history of Israel and the Old Testament; after Dr. Adler's resignation this course was continued by Dr. Johnston.

In *Arabic*, an elementary course was given by Dr. Johnston, Socin's *Arabic Grammar* and the *Beyrout Chrestomathy* serving as text-books. Dr. Johnston also met the more advanced students in Arabic weekly during the first half-year, interpreting selected portions of the *Majānī-el-adab*. Prof. Haupt conducted bi-weekly exercises in *Arabic Prose Composition* through the year.

Three parts of the new polychromatic edition of the Old Testament, published under the editorial direction of Prof. Haupt, were issued by the Johns Hopkins Press at the end of the session. They contain critical editions of the Book of *Leviticus* with notes by S. R. Driver and H. A. White, of Oxford; *Joshua* by Prof. W. H. Bennett, of London; and *Samuel* by Prof. K. Badde of the University of Strassburg, the Critical Notes on Samuel being translated by Rev. B. W. Bacon, D. D., of Oswego, New York. *Jeremiah* by Prof. Cornill, of Königsburg (English Translation of the Notes by Dr. C. Johnston) and *Ezekiel* by Prof. Toy, of Cambridge, Mass., are in press. The second volume of the *Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Grammar*, published with the cooperation of the Johns Hopkins University and edited by Prof. Haupt in conjunction with Prof. Delitzsch, of Breslau, a volume of 645 pages royal octavo, was completed, Part 5 (containing papers

by Friedrich Delitzsch, C. F. Lehmann, Bruno Meissner and S. Arthur Strong) appearing at the beginning of the session.

A lecture by Professor Haupt on *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, delivered before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, appeared in the *Philadelphia Oriental Studies*, (Phila., 1894.)

Prof. Haupt read four papers on *Transitive and Intransitive Verbs in Semitic*, the *Origin of the Pentateuch*, the *Rivers of Paradise* and on *Two Passages of the Chaldean Flood Tablet*, before the American Oriental Society at its meeting in New York, April 6-8. He also presented two communications to the University Philological Association on April 20 on *The Possessive Suffix of the First Person Singular in Assyrian* and on *The Cuneiform Name of Lapis-lazuli*. Dr. Johnston read three papers before the University Philological Association on *The Suffix-Pronoun of the Second Person Feminine Plural* (Nov. 17, 1893); *Assyrian Medicine* (Feb. 16, 1894); and *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians* (April 20.) Dr. D. G. Stevens read a paper on *The Songs of the Return* before the University Philological Association (March 16.) Abstracts of all these Communications may be found in the American Oriental Society's *Proceedings*, April 1894, and in the present number of the *University Circulars*.

The Assistant and the Fellow in the Department received the degree of Ph. D. at the end of the session. The title of Dr. Johnston's thesis was *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians*, his principal subject being Assyrian and his subordinates Hebrew and Greek. Dr. Stevens' thesis is entitled *The Songs of the Return* (Psalms 120-134), his principal subject being Hebrew and his subsidiary subjects Assyrian and Greek. The thesis on *Paronomasia in the Old Testament* by Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, who received the degree of Ph. D. at the end of the session 1891-92, appeared in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XIII, (Boston, 1894.)

#### PROGRAMME OF THE ORIENTAL SEMINARY FOR THE SESSION 1894-95.

The following courses are announced:

1. Lectures on the Prophets of the Old Testament.  
Professor HAUPT. Friday, 5 p. m., during the first half-year.
2. Lectures on the Historical Books of the Old Testament.  
Professor HAUPT. Friday, 5 p. m., during the second half-year.
3. Elementary Hebrew.  
Professor HAUPT. Monday, 3 p. m.
4. Exercises in reading Hebrew at sight.  
Dr. JOHNSTON. Weekly through the year.
5. Critical Interpretation of the Book of Ecclesiastes.  
Professor HAUPT. Monday, 4 p. m.
6. Prose Composition (Hebrew, Arabic, Assyrian).  
Professor HAUPT. Monday, 5 p. m.
7. Assyrian Seminary.  
Professor HAUPT. Thursday, 3-5 p. m.
8. Assyrian for beginners.  
Dr. JOHNSTON. Two hours weekly through the year.
9. Arabic for beginners.  
Dr. JOHNSTON. Weekly through the year.
10. Extracts from Arabic Geographers.  
Professor HAUPT. Friday, 4 p. m., during the first half-year.
11. Selected Suras of the Koran.  
Professor HAUPT. Friday, 4 p. m., during the second half-year.
12. Syriac for beginners.  
Dr. JOHNSTON. Weekly through the year.
13. Ethiopic for beginners.  
Professor HAUPT. Thursday, 5 p. m.

Instruction in Post-Biblical Hebrew, as well as in the History of the Ancient East, will be provided, in case there should be any demand for it.

**A New Polychromatic Edition of the Old Testament,  
Prepared by Eminent Biblical Scholars of Europe and  
America, under the Editorial Direction of Paul Haupt.**

The new polychromatic edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament aims at presenting as clearly as possible the results of the higher and lower criticisms. For this purpose the emendations necessary for the restoration of a readable text have been embodied in the text, each departure from the received text being distinguished by special diacritical marks, so that the reader can at once recognize in every case, whether the *Qere* is followed instead of the *Kethib*, whether an emendation departs only from the Masoretic vocalization or division of the consonantal text, whether the alteration is based on parallel passages, or on the ancient versions, or represents merely a conjecture. Doubtful passages are marked as such, and hopelessly corrupt ones indicated thus . . . . The rejected traditional readings, however, are throughout carefully noted in the critical notes appended at the conclusion of each book, where also the reasons for the proposed changes are discussed as briefly as possible.

An entirely new process, designed by the general editor, has also been employed to distinguish later additions or older incorporated sources, these portions appearing in different colors. The text, indeed, is not printed in different colors (which would have very much impaired the legibility of the letter-press), but the paper is colored, so that the remarkably clear and uniformly black Hebrew text of the different elements of a book appears upon differently colored back-grounds—a process which can hardly be improved upon.

For example, in the third part just published, which contains the Book of Leviticus, edited by S. R. DRIVER and H. A. WHITE, of Oxford, the so-called *Priestly Code* is printed in black on a white back-ground without further coloring; *later strata*, on the other hand (as c. 4; 6, 23; 10, 16–20), appear on a *light brown* back-ground, and the so-called *Law of Holiness* is distinguished by a *yellow* coloring, while redactional additions are indicated by overlining. Secondary marginal glosses are not admitted into the text, but relegated to the foot-notes. The text is left unpointed, so that the Old Testament student may be influenced as little as possible by the Masoretic punctuation. In all cases, however, where the omission of the vowels might give rise to misunderstanding, the necessary points are added, so that even those who are not very proficient in the sacred language will be able to read the Hebrew without much difficulty. The edition will prove especially useful for academic exercises in reading unpointed texts at sight, particularly Professor BUDDE's critical edition of the Books of Samuel. Experience teaches that an entirely unpointed text as MÜHLAU-KAUTZSCH's *Genesis*, or KRAETZSCHMAR's *Isaiah*, is less suitable for this purpose. The text is divided, according to the sense, into larger or smaller paragraphs and the lines are numbered throughout on the inner margin by fives, while the traditional chapter and verse numeration is given in the outer margin. Occasionally transpositions are introduced to restore the original, or at least a more logical, sequence.

The arrangement and the general make-up of the whole work, which have received the most minute attention at the hands of the general editor exhibit an uncommon degree of perfection. The text is printed from the new DRUGULIN Hebrew type, which has, apart from its beautiful form, the additional advantage of having the vowels cast with the consonants. For the critical notes appended an entirely new Roman type has been procured, which is remarkably clear and legible without taking up much space. Ornaments in Moorish style have been designed especially for this edition by Professor STRÖHL of Vienna under the supervision of the general editor. The striking new alligator covers have also been especially manufactured for the work.

The superior quality of the paper has met with general recognition.

The various technical difficulties having been overcome, the publication of the several parts will be pushed as rapidly as possible. After Prof. DRIVER's *Leviticus*, Prof. BUDDE's *Samuel*, and Prof. BENNETT's *Joshua* will follow; afterwards Prof. CORNILL's *Jeremiah*, Prof. TOY's *Ezekiel*, Prof. MOORE's *Judges*, Prof. KITTEL's *Chronicles*, Prof. CHEYNE's *Isaiah*, and

Prof. WELLHAUSEN's *Psalms*. *Samuel*, *Joshua*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* are in press. *Chronicles*, *Judges*, *Isaiah*, *Psalms* will be issued before the end of the year, so that more than one-half of the work will be ready in the near future. *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Kings*, *Proverbs*, *Daniel*, *Ezra-Nehemiah* will be printed next year. The *Minor Prophets* and the *Five Megilloth*, edited by seventeen eminent American, English, and German scholars, will be issued in two parts in 1896. To the complete work will be added a Rabbinical supplement, edited by M. FRIEDMANN, of Vienna, and S. SCHECHTER, of Cambridge. The list of contributors, printed on the last page of the prospectus, furnishes the best guarantee that the contents of the work will satisfy the highest expectations.

The price of the single parts has been placed very low, that the edition may find the widest circulation, especially for academic classes. To secure this, Professor HAUPT has foregone all extra editorial remuneration; but if a public-spirited American had not placed quite a considerable sum at the disposal of the general editor for this work, the edition could not be sold for less than double the present price.

The prices of the succeeding parts will likewise be made very low, to render this indispensable work accessible to every Bible-student. After the publication of the final part, artistic covers for binding the complete work will be furnished at a moderate cost. Each part may be had separately, so that the gradual acquisition of the entire work will be possible to all theological students and teachers.

**Polychromatic Large-Paper Edition of the Old Testament in Hebrew, edited by Paul Haupt.**

The Hebrew text is here printed in colors according to the new process devised by Professor HAUPT, the remarkably clear black Hebrew type appearing on differently colored backgrounds. In this way, all later additions, or older sources incorporated in the Biblical books, are clearly distinguished from the original text. The type employed is the new Hebrew of the well-known Press of W. DRUGULIN, Leipsic, cut after the old Amsterdam matrices. The Roman type used for the Notes, is also entirely new. The letterpress is adorned with artistic Moorish ornaments designed especially for this edition by Professor STRÖHL, of Vienna. The entire make-up, which has received the most careful supervision on the part of the General Editor, represents in every detail the acme of modern typographical art.

The paper used for this large paper edition is the finest heavy plate paper from the mill of Messrs. SIELER & VOGEL, Leipsic. The weight of a single form of 16 pages is 8½ ounces. The size is folio 32, 5 x 25 cm. = nearly (13 x 10 inches) with a generous margin on all four sides. The individual parts of this large-paper edition will be issued in ornamental covers of Moorish design. After the completion of the entire work a magnificent binding will be provided.

The publishers can not pledge themselves, however, to issue all the books of the Old Testament in this large-paper edition, in case the demand for this costly publication should not be sufficiently encouraging. The printing in colors, for example, costs about one-half more for the 120 copies of the large-paper edition than for the 2000 copies in 4o. For bibliophiles, therefore, the first issues will probably be all the more valuable.

The large-paper edition is limited to 120 copies, numbered and signed by the general editor. The names of the subscribers to the complete edition will be prefixed to it in the order of their subscriptions. Of course, only those who subscribe to the complete large-paper edition can be sure of getting the individual parts signed throughout by the general editor with the same number. The price of all the 20 parts of the large-paper edition (including the Rabbinical appendix prepared by M. FRIEDMANN, of Vienna, and S. SCHECHTER, of Cambridge) will probably not exceed £20, or \$100. Each of the 20 parts will be sold separately at the price of about £1, or \$5.00. The work will be an ornament to the collection of every bibliophile; it may also serve as a most appropriate gift to any one interested in the Bible, especially the Old Testament.

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Edited by Professor PAUL HAUPT, of Baltimore.

See page 123 of this Circular.

A detailed prospectus and price list will be sent on application.

## The Chaldean Flood Tablet.

The Johns Hopkins Press has on sale a few plaster casts of the eleventh tablet of the so-called Izdubar or Gilgamesh Legends, commonly known under the name of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic. The tablet contains the cuneiform text of the Chaldean Account of The Deluge as restored by Professor Paul Haupt in the second part of his edition of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic. The text is based on thirteen different copies of the Flood tablet, the fragments of which are published in Professor Haupt's edition. The originals were found during the British excavations in the Valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, and are now preserved in the British Museum. The present clay tablet has the size of the largest Deluge fragment ( $8\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$  in.) known in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum as K 2252. The text has been engraved in clay under the direction of Professor Haupt by Rev. R. Zehnpfund, Ph. D., of Rossau, Germany.

The casts have been most carefully finished in colored plaster so as to give them the appearance of a real cuneiform clay tablet. The tablet contains in six columns 331 lines of cuneiform writing.

The present tablet will be found especially valuable for academic classes, as it will enable students who have not access to originals to study the cuneiform writing. It is proposed to issue a number of the most important Assyrian and Babylonian texts in this manner.

The tablets are put up in boxes and will be sent on receipt of \$1.50.

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